

*The . . . . .  
Eucharistic Epiclesis*

*J. W. Tyrer*

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**THE EUCHARISTIC EPICLESIS.**



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# THE EUCHARISTIC EPICLESIS.

BY

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## FOREWORD.

The subject of Liturgies is a very important one, and the most important of all liturgical problems is that of the Eucharistic Epiclesis. For some years past the writer has observed what seems to him a tendency to magnify the evidence in favour of one particular solution of this problem and to minimise that in favour of a different one. He has accordingly endeavoured to gather together, so far as he was able, the whole of the evidence to be found in the Greek and Latin Fathers of the first four centuries and to make it speak for itself. The text of the quotations has been taken, where possible, from the best modern critical editions, and he has used Migne only when no better source was available. His ignorance of Syriac has made it impossible to include the witness of Ephrem Syrus. But, judging from the specimens given by the late Mr. Edmund Bishop (*Moment of Consecration*, pp. 147-9), he is inclined to believe that they suggest a form of Epiclesis like those in the *Egyptian Church Order* and the *Liturgy of St. Addai and St. Mari*, where the Holy Ghost is invoked on the elements and there is no mention of Christ or His Body and Blood.

Before concluding, he must express his sincere thanks to the Rev. W. C. Bishop, the well-known liturgical Scholar, for much kind help and advice in the work. It will, of course, be understood that the writer alone must be held responsible for the statements made and the opinions expressed in it.

### Addenda et Corrigenda.

Page 8, lines 14-20. The text of the *Missale Gothicum*, just published by the *Henry Bradshaw Society*, enables me to make the following three corrections in the quotation :—*for* immittere *read* inmiscere, *for* super *read* supra, and *for* bibentibus *read* bibituris.

Page 10, line 26. *For* God *read* Lord.

Page 16. *Add at end of line 7* :—This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in c. xiv, where the writer is undoubtedly treating of the Eucharist proper, he avoids the term εὐχαριστία and uses θυσία (sacrifice) instead.

Page 31, line 22. *For* Υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος *read* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Page 32, line 26. *For* φ *read* ϕ.

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# The Eucharistic Epiclesis.

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## Chapter I.                      Introductory.

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(1) The Epiclesis (Invocation) is the most important and interesting part of the Eucharistic Liturgy. It takes somewhat different shapes in different Liturgies, but it may generally be defined as a *solemn appeal to God to intervene and make the Sacrament what Christ designed it to be when He instituted it*. Practically speaking, all known Liturgies contain an Epiclesis of some kind or other. And it is the belief in many parts of Christendom—a belief which has come down from early days—that the Epiclesis is the necessary form of Consecration.

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be well to state that we shall use the words *Epiclesis* and *Invocation* as strictly synonymous and that no notice will be taken of the novel distinction which some have endeavoured to draw between the two.

(2) A word or two is perhaps needful with regard to three Greek terms often used in patristic literature when treating of Eucharistic consecration—*εὐχαριστία*, *ἐπίκλησις*, *εὐχή*. *Εὐχαριστία* definitely signifies a *thanksgiving*;

ἐπίκλησις, equally definitely, a solemn *petition*. Εὐχή is a more neutral term and may be used to designate an εὐχαριστία (provided this is expressed in prayer-form) as well as an ἐπίκλησις. Where, however, εὐχή is clearly distinguished from εὐχαριστία (see § 10), it must stand for a *petition*, though not necessarily such a solemn one as would entitle it to be called an ἐπίκλησις.

(3) Of late days a good deal of interest has been taken in the Eucharistic Epiclesis—witness such books as Dr. Gummey's *Consecration of the Eucharist* (Philadelphia and London, 1908), and such articles as the Rev. W. C. Bishop's *Primitive Form of Consecration of the Holy Eucharist* (in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1908) and the late Mr. Edmund Bishop's *Moment of Consecration* (Appendix vi. to Dom Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge, 1909); and questions have been raised as to its antiquity and earliest form. The present is an attempt to solve these questions, so far as may be possible. In this connection mention must be made of a work which has no direct bearing on the subject of the Epiclesis but incidentally throws great light on it—Dom Connolly's *The so-called Egyptian Church Order and derived Documents* (Cambridge, 1916).

(4) We have carefully avoided entering into the still more important question mentioned above (§ 1)—whether the Epiclesis is, or is not, the necessary form of Eucharistic Consecration. We shall, of course, quote patristic *testimonia* which show that this question was sometimes answered very definitely in the affirmative. But the only inference we shall draw is the obvious one, that the Epiclesis in general, or some particular form of it (in

cases where such form is specially mentioned), must be of some antiquity when these *testimonia* were written—in those regions at least to which the knowledge of the writers extended.

(5) We will begin by giving a few specimens of different forms of the Epiclesis. In its most complete shape it consists of :—

- (a) a prayer to God the Father,
- (b) to send the Holy Ghost,
- (c) on the congregation and
- (d) on the elements of bread and wine,
- (e) to make these the body and blood of Christ,
- (f) for the spiritual benefit of the communicants.

As an example we will take the one in the *Liturgy of St. James* (Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 54):—

- (b) αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον κατάπεμψον,
- (a) Δέσποτα,
- (c) ἐφ' ἡμᾶς,
- (d) καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα ἅγια δῶρα ταῦτα,
- (e) ἵνα ἐπιφοιτήσῃς τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἐνδόξῃ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ ποιῇ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τίμιον Χριστοῦ,
- (f) ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμόν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς καρποφορίαν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> (b) Send down this same all-holy Ghost, (a) O Lord, (c) on us (d) and on these holy gifts lying (before Thee), (e) that, visiting them with His holy and good and glorious presence, He may hallow and make this bread the holy body of Christ and this cup the precious blood of Christ, (f) that they may be to all those who partake of them for forgiveness of sins and for everlasting life, for hallowing of souls and bodies, for the bringing forth the fruit of good works.

If we consult Cyril of Jerusalem's 5th *Mystagogic Catechesis* (παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ<sup>1</sup>—c. 7), we shall see that the kernel of this (parts *a, b, d, e*) is in substance as old at any rate as the middle of the fourth century. The other four great Greek Liturgies (*St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Clement*) have Invocations of the same form, except that (*c*) is absent from *St. Clement*.

A complete Western specimen of an Epiclesis possessing all the above six parts may be found in the *Post Mysteriorum* of the (Gallican) *Missa* for the feast of St. Peter's Chair in the *Missale Gothicum*:—obsecrantes ut immittere digneris Spiritum tuum sanctum super haec solemnia; ut fiat nobis legitima Eucharistia in tuo Filii tui nomine et Spiritus sancti, in transformatione corporis ac sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Unigeniti tui, edentibus nobis vitam aeternam, regnumque perpetuum conlatura bibentibus.<sup>2</sup> Here (*c*) is implied in *fiat nobis*. We may add that the *Post Pridie* for St. Christina (*Missa* No. 94 in the Mozarabic *Liber Sacramentorum*) is almost word for word the same (ed. Férotin, col. 379).

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<sup>1</sup> We beseech the merciful God to send the Holy Ghost on the (elements) lying (before Him), that He may make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> beseeching that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to send Thy Holy Ghost on these elements, that they may become to us a valid Eucharist in Thine and Thy Son's name and (the name) of the Holy Ghost, by transformation of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Only begotten (Son), to bestow eternal life on us who eat and an everlasting kingdom on (us) who drink.



(6) With regard to Liturgies in general, parts *a* and *b* are almost universal, but there are a few exceptions. (a) In the (Coptic) *Liturgy of St. Gregory* the Invocation is addressed to God the Son (Renaudot, *Lit. Or. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 31, 98). (β) In the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* (bishop of Thmuis in Egypt c. 340—360) there is an Epiclesis, not of the Holy Ghost, but of the Word (ἐπιδημησάτω, Θεὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ ἅγιός σου Λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ Λόγου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἵνα γένηται τὸ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ ποιήσον πάντας τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας, κ.τ.λ.).<sup>1</sup> (γ) In the *Roman Canon of the Mass* the Invocation (which is in a very unusual place—just before the words of Institution)<sup>2</sup> makes no mention of the coming of either the Second or the Third Person of the Trinity, but runs as follows:—*Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini [Dei] nostri Jesu Christi.*<sup>3</sup>

Of the six parts of the Epiclesis (*c*) is the one which is oftenest absent. In some of the minor Syriac Liturgies it is expressed in the singular number; the

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<sup>1</sup> O God of truth, let Thy holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become the blood of the Truth; and make all who communicate, etc.

<sup>2</sup> It is probable, however, that the original Invocation is now represented by the paragraph *Supplices te rogamus* and therefore occupied the normal position.

<sup>3</sup> Which offering do Thou, O God, vouchsafe to make in all points blessed, ascript, ratified, reasonable and acceptable, that it may become to us the body and blood of Thy most beloved Son our Lord [God] Jesus Christ.

priest prays for the Holy Ghost to come on *himself* and on the elements (*e.g.*, *Liturgy of St. Eustathius*, Renaudot, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 236).

(7) There are two Liturgies, both apparently of high antiquity, possessing Invocations in which (*e*) is altogether wanting. One is found in the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*:—*Et petimus, ut mittas Spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae; in unum congregans des omnibus, qui percipiunt, sanctis in repletionem Spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in ueritate*<sup>1</sup> (Hauler, *Didasc. Apost. Frag.*, p. 107). The other is in the *Liturgy of St. Addai and St. Mari*, in use among the Assyrian Christians, and runs as follows:—

“And may there come, O my Lord, Thine Holy  
 “Spirit and rest upon this offering of Thy servants  
 “and bless it and hallow it that it may be to us, O  
 “my Lord, for the pardon of offences and the  
 “remission of sins and for the great hope of  
 “resurrection from the dead and for new life in the  
 “Kingdom of heaven” (Bp. Maclean’s trans.  
 in Brightman’s *Eastern Liturgics*, p. 287).

It may be worth while to give one more Epiclesis—a very anomalous one—from the *Testament of our Lord* (4th or 5th cent.):—

“We offer to Thee this thanksgiving, Eternal  
 “Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O God the Father,  
 “before whom all creation and every nature

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<sup>1</sup> And we pray Thee to send Thy Holy Ghost on the offering of the holy Church, (and) gathering them together in one, give (it) to all the saints who partake (of it) for fulfilling with the Holy Ghost to the strengthening of faith in truth.

“trembleth, fleeing into itself, O Lord the Holy  
 “Ghost ; we have brought this drink and this food  
 “of Thy holiness [to Thee] ; cause that it may be to  
 “us not for condemnation, not for reproach, not  
 “for destruction, but for the medicine and support  
 “of our spirit ” (trans. Cooper and Maclean,  
 “pp. 73—4).

(8) What is the earliest description of the Eucharistic rite which we possess ? Three answers may be given to this question :—

(α) That in cc. ix. and x. of the *Didache* (usually ascribed to the first quarter of the second century) ;

(β) The prayers contained in cc. 85 and 109 of the *Acts of John* (a work probably of the latter half of the second century) and put into the mouth of St. John himself ;

(γ) The account given in cc. 65—7 of the *First Apology* of Justin Martyr (written in or about the year 153).

The last of these is undoubtedly a faithful description of the Eucharistic service as celebrated in the Catholic Church when Justin wrote. It is to be noted too that he professes to give the use, not of some one Church only, but of all Churches everywhere. He begins thus, τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μεόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, κ.τ.λ. (c. 67).<sup>1</sup> Justin was a great traveller, and hence his evidence on the point is of very considerable weight. Further, the wide-spread character

<sup>1</sup> On the day called Sunday there is a meeting into one place of all (Christians) who dwell in cities or the country, etc.

of the customs he describes seems to show that they cannot have been of very recent origin. Some time is required for their adoption from one Church into another ; they must date back at least to the first quarter of the second century.

(9) With regard to the *Acts of John* the two prayers in question purport to be those used by the Apostle on two occasions when he consecrated the Eucharist. It is clear that no weight can be attached to their *wording* which is quite different in the two prayers. But can they be considered in any way representative of the Eucharistic formulæ of the early Church? Or are they entirely independent of these, merely exhibiting a new type of worship devised by the Gnostics after their separation from the Church? It seems to us that there is every reason to believe the latter alternative. For, speaking generally, it was the Gnostics who were the innovators, while the Church maintained a conservative attitude.<sup>1</sup>

This is admittedly so :—

(a) In doctrine ;

(b) In sacred literature (nearly all the apocryphal Gospels and Acts are of Gnostic origin) ;

(c) In baptism, as may be seen by a glance at the Gnostic baptismal formulæ given by Irenæus (*Contr. Hæres.* i. 21<sup>3</sup>—here is one specimen, εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς Ἰησοῦν, εἰς ἔνωσιν καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν

<sup>1</sup> Just after writing this, we happened to be reading Mr. C. H. Turner's art., *Chronology of the N.T.*, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (vol. i., p. 405), and we came across the words "a Gnostic tradition is worth nothing at all." Comment is needless.

τῶν δυνάμεων).<sup>1</sup> These facts seem to supply sufficient reason for suspecting that the Gnostics may have treated the Eucharistic prayer with as little conservative reverence as they did the baptismal formula and other things of even greater importance.

But we are not left to mere *a priori* considerations. We have positive evidence that one of them acted in this very manner. Irenaeus describes Marcus, the Valentinian, as unduly lengthening the prayer of consecration for reasons of his own (ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως,<sup>2</sup> *Contr. Haeres.* i. 13<sup>2</sup>—see § 20). Other Gnostics may have taken even greater liberties of a different kind. What we require then, as a test of the value of the Eucharistic formulæ in the *Acts of John*, is the text of those used by the orthodox at, or before, the time when the *Acts of John* were written, or at any rate some description of them. But, as we have seen (§ 8), we possess the latter in the *First Apology* of Justin Martyr.

(10) When we compare in detail the Eucharistic prayer described by Justin (A) with those given in the *Acts of John* (B; B<sup>1</sup>=the prayer in c. 85, B<sup>2</sup> that in c. 109), the following facts strike us at once. (a) A was addressed to God the Father, B to God the Son; in fact, in B<sup>1</sup> the Father is not mentioned at all and only once quite casually in B<sup>2</sup>, τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὄνομα.<sup>3</sup> (b) A was addressed to the Father *through the name of the Son*; this is obviously not the case in B. (c) A was

<sup>1</sup> into the name of the unknown Father of the universe, into truth the mother of all things, into Him who descended on Jesus, into union and redemption and fellowship of the Powers.

<sup>2</sup> spinning out to great length the word of the invocation.

<sup>3</sup> the name said by the Father.

addressed to the Father *through the name also of the Holy Ghost* (αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει,<sup>1</sup> c. 65); there is no mention of the Holy Ghost in either form of B. (d) A was a long prayer (ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται,<sup>2</sup> c. 65); B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> are both very short. (e) A contained both thanksgiving and petition. For, though εὐχή might easily be used of a religious thanksgiving—indeed, a thanksgiving said by a single person (as this was) usually takes the form of a prayer—still this cannot be the case where εὐχή is expressly distinguished from εὐχαριστία, as it is here by Justin (οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, c. 65; ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας . . . ἀναπέμπει,<sup>3</sup> c. 67). B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> contain nothing at all in the nature of petition. (f) Justin, in various parts of his works, tells us four of the subjects dwelt on in the Eucharistic thanksgiving:—

(a) the creation of the world,

(β) the redemption of man,

(ἵνα ἄμα τε εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐκτικέναι . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐν ᾗ γεγόναμεν ᾗλευθερωκέναι ἡμᾶς,<sup>4</sup> *Dial. Tryph.*, c. 41),

(γ) the passion of our Lord (ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὁ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοὺς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται<sup>5</sup> (*op. cit.*, c. 117),

<sup>1</sup> He sends up praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

He makes (thanksgiving) at great length.

<sup>2</sup> when he has ended the prayers and the thanksgiving (c. 65); the president sends up prayers likewise and thanksgivings (c. 67).

<sup>4</sup> that we may at the same time thank God for having created the world . . . and for having set us free from the evil in which we have been.

<sup>5</sup> in which mention is made of the passion which the Son of God has suffered for them.



(δ) the Eucharist itself (εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιώσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται,<sup>1</sup> *I Apol.*, c. 65). Of these (α) and (γ) are completely absent from both forms of B.

Thus the Eucharistic prayer described by Justin and those given in the *Acts of John* differ in almost every possible way. And when we remember (i) that the former was the regular use of the Catholic Church, while the latter come to us through a Gnostic channel, and (ii) that the former can be traced back to a higher antiquity than the latter, which were doubtless composed by the author of the *Acts of John*, we see at once, for both reasons, that the latter may be set aside as absolutely valueless for our purpose.

(11) We have still to consider the *Didache*. Assuming its early date, its evidence is affected by a doubt of quite a different nature from that with regard to the *Acts of John*. Do the prayers in cc. ix. and x. belong (α) to the Eucharist proper, or (β) to the Agape immediately preceding it? All depends on the answer given to this question. In favour of the first interpretation it may be said that :—

(α) The title εὐχαριστία is applied to the meal at which the prayers were said.

(β) There is a direction (at end of c. ix.) that only the baptised were to partake of it.

(γ) There is a reference in c. x. to πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτόν.<sup>2</sup>

But (α) the word εὐχαριστία had probably not

<sup>1</sup> He makes at great length thanksgiving for these things being vouchsafed (to us) by Him.

<sup>2</sup> spiritual food and drink.

yet acquired its technical meaning; in one place of the New Testament (I Tim. iv. 3, 4) it occurs in the sense of the grace said at an ordinary meal; Ignatius (*e.g.*, *Smyrn.*, c. 6) is, so far as we know, the first to use it in its later acceptation; in the Church where the *Didache* was written—perhaps an out-of-the-way one—it may have been applied to the Agape. Further, the *Church Orders* usually contain a parallel to ( $\beta$ )—a command to exclude catechumens from the Agape (*e.g.*, *Canons of Hippolytus* xxxiii. 172); it must be remembered too that, on the second interpretation, exclusion from the Agape would involve exclusion also from the Eucharist which immediately followed it. And ( $\gamma$ ) the words “spiritual food and drink” may easily refer to the Eucharist which is just going to begin. Besides, in favour of this second interpretation, we may point to the following four facts:—

(a) The prayers in question contain no mention of Christ’s death—an omission incredible in any orthodox Eucharistic formulæ.

(b) The blessing of the cup precedes, and is separate from, that of the bread—contrary, we believe, to all known Christian custom.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The Eucharist is separately described in c. xiv. ; this is absolutely necessary for the completeness of the work, if it has not been dealt with before, but otherwise very hard to understand—a redundancy without parallel in the rest of the *Didache* which is quite orderly in its

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<sup>1</sup> The Western text of Luke xxii. 19, 20, might seem to confirm the *Didache* in this, but is it the correct text?

arrangement. (d) The final words of the post-reception prayer in c. x. (εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι μετανοεῖτω· μαρاناθά· ἀμήν)<sup>1</sup> contain an invitation to the worthy and a warning to the unworthy communicant and can only mean that the Eucharist proper is to follow. They are as well established as any part of the context; they are found in the only MS. (11th cent.) we possess of this part of the *Didache*, and they were found too in the MS. which in the fourth century was used by the compiler of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 26). The idea that they are "out of place" (Woolley, *Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, p. 53), or "an insertion of the "editor" (Srawley, *Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 26), seems negatived by the systematic and orderly manner in which the whole work is arranged.

These facts appear to us to point very strongly in favour of the second interpretation, according to which the *Didache* contains no consecratory prayers and therefore throws no light on our subject.

(12) Let us now go back to Justin. If the arguments used above are valid, there can be no doubt that his description of the Eucharistic service is the oldest which we possess. And we note with interest a general resemblance in its main features to the great Liturgies of later days. But an important question arises. The consecratory prayer known to Justin, though consisting mainly of thanksgiving, as is obvious from the general tenor of his words, contained petition likewise (see § 10).

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<sup>1</sup> If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not (holy), let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.

Did he attribute consecration :—(a) to the thanksgiving-part, or (β) to the petition-part? This is a question hard to decide, as his words lend themselves to either view. In favour of (a) is the strong argument that his word for consecrating is εὐχαριστέιν, which indeed is the technical term from his time downwards. In favour of (β) is the fact that he represents consecration as taking place by means of an εὐχή (δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ,<sup>1</sup> *I Apol.*, c. 66). There are six other occurrences of the word εὐχή in cc. 65-7 of that work, and in every one of them it means a *petition*. We cannot solve the problem. All we can say is, that, if other evidence renders it likely that the Eucharistic Epiclesis is as old as the middle of the second century, there is nothing in Justin to negative this. At most he is silent on the point.

(13) It is interesting to note that Irenaeus is at one with Justin in his general description of the consecration-prayer. We have seen that Justin, though laying most stress on it as a *thanksgiving*, does not forget to tell us it contained *petition* likewise. Irenaeus lays most stress on the *petition-part* (ἐπίκλησις), but is yet well aware that it contained *thanksgiving* also. This follows from two passages where he is speaking of the Eucharist :—(a) hanc oblationem ecclesia sola puram offert Fabricatori, offerens ei *cum gratiarum actione* ex creatura ejus<sup>2</sup> (*Contr. Haeres.* iv. 18<sup>4</sup>); (b) offerimus enim ei, non quasi indigenti, sed *gratias agentes* dominationi ejus et sanctificantes creaturam<sup>3</sup> (*op. cit.* iv. 18<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> by the word of prayer which (word) is from Him.

<sup>2</sup> This offering the Church alone offers pure to the Creator, offering to Him with thanksgiving (things taken) from His creation.

<sup>3</sup> For we offer to Him, not as though He needed (anything), but giving thanks to His dominion, and hallowing what He has created.

## Chapter II. The Antiquity of the Epiclesis.

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(14) Having thus cleared away preliminary questions, we proceed at once to our main subject:—(a) the *antiquity* of the Eucharistic Epiclesis and (β) its *oldest form*. It is quite obvious where our inquiry must begin. From the commencement of the fifth century all is clear and undisputed, but it is otherwise as soon as we go back into the fourth century. Hence the end of the fourth century must be our starting point.

(15) With regard to the *antiquity* of the Epiclesis our first step is an easy one. There can be no doubt that, in some shape or other, it was in constant use during the latter half of the fourth century. We have quite a band of witnesses. (a) Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, writing in the year 401, among other accusations which he brings against Origen says, *non recogitat . . . panem . . . dominicum . . . et sacrum calicem quae in mensa ecclesiae conlocantur . . . per inuocationem et aduentum sancti Spiritus sanctificari*<sup>1</sup> (so his words are translated by Jerome, *Ep.* 98<sup>13</sup>—see § 55).

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<sup>1</sup> He does not consider that the bread of the Lord and the sacred cup which are placed on the table of the Church are hallowed by the invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost.

(b) Peter, a predecessor of Theophilus, in a letter composed in 373, just after he became bishop, speaks of what happened ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἔνθα κάθοδον τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπικαλούμεθα<sup>1</sup> (*apud* Theodoret, *Hist Eccles.* iv. 22<sup>7</sup>—see § 56).

(c) Chrysostom, at Antioch, writing not later than 390, probably a little earlier, says of the celebrant, ὅταν δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καλῇ καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν<sup>2</sup> (*De Sacerd.* vi. 4<sup>519</sup>—see § 54).

(d) The compiler of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, who apparently lived at or near Antioch and wrote about the year 375, confirms Chrysostom's testimony. For, as we have already seen (§ 5), the *Liturgy of St. Clement* which he composed contains an Invocation of almost normal type.

(e) Basil, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, is equally well acquainted with the Invocation. In his work *De Spiritu Sancto* (written in 374) he asks, τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν;<sup>3</sup> And he apparently considers it one of the unwritten rites which had come down ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως<sup>4</sup> (*op. cit.* xxvii. 66—see § 53).

(16) Nor was the case different in the West, so far as our information goes.

<sup>1</sup> on the very altar where we invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost.

<sup>2</sup> When he also calls on the Holy Ghost and completes the most dread sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> Which of the saints has left to us in writing the words of the invocation at the consecration of the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing?

<sup>4</sup> from the tradition of the apostles.



(*f*) Optatus, bishop of Milevis in Numidia, writing about the year 380, speaks of the altaria Dei . . . quo Deus omnipotens *inuocatus* sit, quo *postulatus* descenderit Spiritus sanctus<sup>1</sup> (*De Schism. Donat.* vi. 1—see § 58).

And (*g*) Ambrose, bishop of Milan, in his work *De Spiritu Sancto* written in 381, tells us that the Holy Ghost cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus . . . in oblationibus *invocatur*<sup>2</sup> (*De Spir. Sanct.* iii. 16<sup>112</sup>—see § 57).

The testimony of two earlier writers has been already given :—

(*h*) Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis about the year 350 (see § 6), and (*i*) Cyril of Jerusalem, writing about 348 (see §§ 5, 30).

(17) Thus the evidence for the use of an Epiclesis at the Eucharist during the last sixty years of the fourth century is very strong indeed. It comes from almost all parts of the Christian world (Egypt, Palestine, Antioch, Asia Minor, Africa, Italy); it is quite unanimous—there is not a single dissentient voice; four at least of our witnesses (Theophilus, Chrysostom, Basil, Cyril) regard the Invocation as the form of consecration; Theophilus believed it to be as old as the days of Origen (first half of third century); Basil apparently thought that its wording dated back to the apostles' days. There is only one explanation which can satisfy facts like these. The Epiclesis must have been in regular use during the *whole* of the fourth century.

<sup>1</sup> The altars of God . . . where God Almighty has been invoked, where the Holy Ghost has descended in answer to prayer.

<sup>2</sup> with the Father and the Son . . . is by the priests invoked in the offerings.

(18) For the third century the evidence is naturally more scanty than for the fourth; we have only five witnesses instead of nine. But, so far as it goes, it points to exactly the same state of things.

(a) The *Didascalia Apostolorum*, a work composed probably in Syria or Palestine during the second half of this century, gives the following directions with regard to the Eucharist:—*eam, quae secundum similitudinem regalis corporis Christi est, regalem eucharistiam offerte tam in collectis uestris quam etiam et in coemiteriis et in dormientium exinitione, panem mundum praeponentes, qui per ignem factus est et per inuocationem sanctificatur*<sup>1</sup> (Hauler, *Didasc. Apost. Frag.*, p. 85). (b) Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in a letter written to Cyprian in 256, draws an interesting picture of the doings of a certain female heretic who twenty-two years before (*i.e.*, in 235) had declared herself a prophetess and deceived many of the Cappadocian Christians. Among other things he says, *hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et inuocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet*.<sup>2</sup> He adds that in baptising, and apparently in celebrating the Eucharist also, she was very careful to follow the ordinary Church customs, *ut nihil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula uideretur*<sup>3</sup> (*Ep.* lxxv. 10, among Cyprian's *Epistles*).

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<sup>1</sup> Offer that royal Eucharist which is according to the likeness of the royal body of Christ both in your congregations and in your cemeteries and in the burial (?) of those who sleep, setting forth pure bread which has been made by (the use of) fire and is hallowed by the invocation.

<sup>2</sup> She frequently dared to do this—to pretend to hallow bread and consecrate (make) the Eucharist with an invocation by no means to be despised.

<sup>3</sup> that she might seem to differ in no respect from Church rule.

(c) The extant fragments of Origen's *Homilies on I Corinthians* (c. the year 232) contain a very important notice of the Epiclesis; the Eucharist is described as ἄρτους ἐφ' ὧν ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος<sup>1</sup> (in *I Cor.* vii. 5—see §§ 34-37). (d) Hippolytus in his *Philosophumena* (written about 230) copies Irenaeus' words with regard to the heretic Marcus, πολλάκις λαμβάνων ποτήριον ὡς εὐχαριστῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεον τὸ κέραςμα ἐποίει φαίνεσθαι<sup>2</sup> (*op. cit.* vi. 39). The fact that Hippolytus does not explain Irenaeus' expression τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, but assumes that his readers will understand it perfectly, shows how familiar the idea of consecration by an Epiclesis must have been in his time. (e) The so-called *Egyptian Church Order*, now proved by Dom Connolly to be the original of the kindred matter found in such documents as the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Testament of our Lord* and Book viii. of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and assigned by him with considerable probability to Hippolytus, contains a Prayer of Consecration possessing a very definite Invocation (quoted above, § 7).

(19) Thus, though we have fewer witnesses for the third century than for the fourth, yet their testimony is quite as emphatic. It hails from various parts of the Christian world (Palestine, Asia Minor, Italy); it is unanimous; and each of our witnesses regards the

<sup>1</sup>loaves on which has been invoked the name of God and of Christ and of the Holy Ghost.

<sup>2</sup>He used often to take a cup as if for the purpose of consecrating and, spinning out to great length the word of the invocation, he was wont to make the mixture (of wine and water in it) appear purple.

Invocation as the form of Consecration. There can be no doubt that it was just as invariable a feature of the Eucharistic service in the third century as in later times.

(20) Earlier than the third century we have only one witness to the Invocation—Irenaeus; but the information he gives is most important. Like later writers, he tells us that consecration by an Epiclesis was the custom of orthodox Christians in his days (ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβάνόμενος τὴν ἐπίκλησιν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία,<sup>2</sup> *Contr. Haeres.* iv. 18<sup>5</sup>). But this is not all. As we have already seen (§ 9), he describes the teachings and doings of a certain Valentinian heretic, Marcus by name. Among other things we are told that Marcus was in the habit of changing by means of trickery the colour of the Eucharistic wine, while he pronounced the Invocation over the cup (ποτήρια<sup>3</sup> οἶνω κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· ὥς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα Χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἐαυτῆς στάζειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup>—*Contr. Haeres.* i. 13<sup>2</sup>). Marcus was still alive and acting thus when Irenaeus wrote. Though, so far as we know, his personal teaching was confined to Asia (*Contr. Haeres.* i. 13<sup>5</sup>), he had

<sup>1</sup> There is now no doubt that this is the correct reading.

<sup>2</sup> Bread, the produce of the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer ordinary bread, but the Eucharist.

<sup>3</sup> The latter part of the sentence, the ancient Latin translation and Hippolytus (§ 18) combine to show that this word and those dependent on it should be in the singular and not in the plural.

<sup>4</sup> Pretending to consecrate cups mixed with wine (and water), and spinning out to great length the word of the invocation, he makes them appear purple and red; so that it might seem that Grace derived from the Powers above the universe was dropping her blood into that cup through his invocation.

gained a large body of disciples, some of whom were to be found even in the Rhone valley (*Contr. Haeres.* i. 13<sup>7</sup>). Further, he had been publicly denounced by one whom Irenaeus calls ὁ θεῖος πρεσβύτερος<sup>1</sup>—a revered teacher who, when Irenaeus wrote, had obviously been dead for a considerable time (*Contr. Haeres.* i. 15<sup>6</sup>). Such a state of things requires at least twenty years; and, as the *Contra Haereses* was written about the year 185, we cannot date the beginning of Marcus' career later than 165, and it may have been earlier. By the year 165 then it was customary for both orthodox and heretics to consecrate the Eucharist by means of an Epiclesis. We see this from the fact that Marcus' use of one caused no surprise; on the contrary, it was looked on as a matter of course. But what was surprising in Marcus' Epiclesis was its length. He made it much longer than was usual—probably in order to give the chemicals, which he introduced into the cup by sleight of hand, time to work. We have every reason to believe that, at the period in question, the Epiclesis was an extempore prayer. Yet already custom had imposed a definite limit on its length. This surely, in an *extempore* prayer, implies that it had been in use for a considerable number of years—in other words, that it must date back to the first half of the second century. And we have already seen (§ 12) that, though Justin makes no express mention of an Epiclesis, there is nothing in what he says to negative its existence. Further than this we cannot go with our present evidence; but we know no reason why it should not have originated in apostolic days.

<sup>1</sup> the divine old man.

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### Chapter III. The Nature of the Epiclesis.

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(21) Having thus discussed the *antiquity* of the Eucharistic Epiclesis, we have now to consider its *nature*. In the East, and to some extent also in the West, it has assumed, ever since the beginning of the fifth century, the form of a definite Invocation of the Holy Ghost on the elements. So far we are on undisputed ground. But the question has been raised (by Mr. E. Bishop, *Moment of Consecration*, pp. 138-142) whether an Epiclesis of this type were not at the above period (the beginning of the fifth century) a comparatively recent introduction, and whether in earlier days it did not take another shape—the Invocation of our Lord as the Word of God. We will now proceed to examine this question. And, since the attempt has been made to prove the impossibility of any wide diffusion of a Eucharistic Invocation of the Holy Ghost before the middle of the fourth century (*op. cit.*, p. 138), we must begin with a short historical survey.

(22) It was in the latter half of the fourth century that public attention was first drawn to the doctrine of the Third Person of the Trinity. Arius, who denied the consubstantiality of the Son, denied also the consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost. But, quite naturally, so long as the former point was controverted,



the latter attracted little notice. It was not till men were found who denied the latter, while they admitted the former, that the question of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost came into prominence. The first hint of the existence of such men (*Pneumatomachians*, as they were soon called) is found in a letter of the above-mentioned (§ 6) Sarapion to Athanasius, then an exile (from 356 to 362) in the deserts of Egypt. Athanasius replied by addressing to Sarapion four letters, the main subject of which is the doctrine of the Holy Ghost; they are believed to have been written not earlier than 358. Owing to the circumstances under which they were composed, and to the fact that Pneumatomachianism had hitherto attracted but little attention, it is not likely they had a wide circulation until after Athanasius' return to Alexandria in February 362. Meanwhile, Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, being deposed early in 360, went into retirement and employed his leisure in putting forth Pneumatomachian views so openly and unreservedly that public interest was immediately aroused, and the names *Macedonian* and *Pneumatomachian* became practically synonymous. On Athanasius' return he at once held a Council in Alexandria at which the consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost was affirmed, this being the first synodical pronouncement on the point. The controversy went on for nineteen years longer and was finally settled by the condemnation of Macedonianism in 381 at the First Council of Constantinople (afterwards regarded as Ecumenical).

(23) If then it can be proved that mention of the Holy Ghost in the Eucharistic Epiclesis was unknown before the year 360, the Pneumatomachian controversy

supplies an adequate reason for its introduction ; or, if found previously in some one Church only, although its origin must have been due to some other cause, its spread into sister Churches would be easily accounted for by the prominence given through this controversy to the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. More especially would this be so, if, in one or more of the Councils held on account of the controversy, reference had been made to the Eucharistic Invocation, or some recommendation given as to the form it should take ; but, so far as is known, this was not the case.

If, on the other hand, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost can be shown to have been in use in different parts of the Christian world before 360, its origin must have been entirely independent of the Pneumatomachian controversy, and there can be no *a priori* reason why it should not have come down from a much earlier date.

(24) The three earliest extant Eucharistic forms which can be dated with anything like certainty are the εὐχή προσφόρου (*Prayer of Oblation, i.e., Consecration-formula*) of the above-named Sarapion, the Liturgy described in the fifth *Mystagogic Catechesis* of Cyril of Jerusalem (Cyril does not give the complete text of the prayers—only the main points, one of these fortunately being the Epiclesis) and the Eucharistic prayer in the *Egyptian Church Order*. The first was composed during Sarapion's episcopate, probably between the years 340 and 360 ; Sarapion was already bishop in the year 340, as seems to be implied by the letter addressed to him by Athanasius and included in the collection of Athanasius' *Festal Letters* between the 11th and the 13th. The

second was in use at the same time, since the *Mystagogic Catecheses* were delivered a year or two before 350 (probably in 348). The third is certainly older than either of the other two by probably at least a century (see § 18). Hence all were in existence before the outbreak of the Pneumatomachian controversy. We will briefly compare the three (citing them as S, C J, and C O respectively) and mark their agreements and differences, adding references to passages in second and third century writers ; these latter will serve as tests of antiquity.

(25) (a) In all three the Eucharistic Prayer is prefaced by the Versicles and Responses of the *Sursum Corda* (S does not expressly give these, as it begins with the Prayer ; but the beginning of that Prayer implies the last Response of the *Sursum Corda*, and that in turn implies the rest). So Cyprian, *De Dom. Orat.* 31 (sacerdos ante orationem praefatione praemissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo : *Susum Corda*, ut dum respondet plebs : *Habemus ad Dominum*, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere).<sup>1</sup>

(b) In all three the Prayer is addressed to God the Father ; so Justin Martyr, *I Apol.* 65 (see c).

(c) In all three the Prayer begins with praise ; so Justin, *ib.* (οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων . . . ἀναπέμπει).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The priest before the prayer, by way of preface, prepares the minds of the brethren by saying *Lift up your hearts* ; that, while the people reply *We lift them up unto the Lord*, they may be admonished that they ought to think of nothing else but the Lord.

<sup>2</sup>He taking them sends up praise and glory to the Father of the universe.

(d) As we have seen above (§ 10), Justin mentions four subjects which were dwelt on in the Thanksgiving-Prayer :—(α) the creation of the world, (β) the redemption of man, (γ) the passion of our Lord, (δ) the Eucharist itself. Of these (α) is altogether absent from S and nearly so from C O (the only allusion being *per quem omnia fecisti*<sup>1</sup>—Hauler, p. 106) but very prominent in C J; (β) and (γ) are very prominent in C O but only slightly represented in S; (δ) is found in both S and C O. C J is silent about (β), (γ) and (δ), though they may have occurred in his Liturgy. Thus, so far as our information goes, C J is more primitive with regard to (α) and C O with regard to (β) and (γ).

(e) In S the Thanksgiving-Prayer is much longer than in C O. From Justin (*ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται*<sup>2</sup>—*I Apol.* 65) we conclude that here S presents the earlier type. We have not enough evidence to show whether in this respect C J agreed with S or with C O.

(f) In S and C J the Thanksgiving contains the *Sanctus* which is absent from C O. There is no certain reference to its occurring in the Eucharistic Service earlier than S and C J, the passages often quoted from Tertullian (*De Orat.* 3) and the *Passio Perpetuae* (c. xii.) being insufficient to prove or even suggest this. Hence it is likely that C O is the more primitive here.

(g) C J does not mention any recital of the Institution, though it may have occurred in his Liturgy, but it is found in both S and C O.

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<sup>1</sup> by Whom Thou hast made all things.

<sup>2</sup> He makes at great length.

(h) All three possess an Epiclesis which is apparently regarded as the form of Consecration. C J says so expressly (*Cat. Myst.* iii. 3—see § 30); the wording of S implies it, so does that of C O. This is in accordance with the belief commonly held in the third century and in the latter part of the second (see § § 18-20). In C O the Epiclesis is much less developed than in either of the other two and therefore probably exhibits an earlier type.

(i) In C J and C O the Epiclesis is an Invocation of the *Holy Ghost*; in S an Invocation of the *Word*. This difference is the subject we are now considering.

(k) In S and C J the Eucharistic Prayer concludes with Intercessions; these are absent from C O, which again is probably the more primitive. For Justin (*I Apol.*, c. 65) says nothing about Intercessions here, but places them at an earlier point in the Liturgy—among the *κοινὰς εὐχάς*<sup>1</sup> said before the beginning of the Eucharistic Service proper (cf. the *Mozarabic* and *Gallican* Liturgies).

(l) We do not know what form the final Doxology took in C J. In S it follows an early type (διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, κ. τ. λ.)<sup>2</sup>—as we see from Origen (*De Orat.* xxxiii. 6). The Doxology in the *Egyptian Church Order* needs separate discussion, and we must devote a paragraph to it.

(26) In the ancient Latin translation, our earliest and usually our best authority, the Doxology runs:—

<sup>1</sup> common prayers.

<sup>2</sup> through Thy Only-begotten Son through Whom be glory and might to Thee in the Holy Ghost, etc.

per puerum tuum Jesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saeculorum<sup>1</sup> (Hauler, p. 107). The clause—Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu—is one of the two reasons which make Bp. Maclean conclude that no form of the *Egyptian Church Order* can “with any probability be dated before the fourth “century” (*Ancient Church Orders*, p. 160). We do not feel quite so sure of the correctness of this conclusion. When we compare the above Doxology with the following four which are undoubtedly of the third century, and three of them of the first half of that century, we fail to see in it any signs of posteriority. (α) Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria 248—265, ends the second book of his *Refutation and Defence* (addressed to Dionysius, bishop of Rome 259—269) thus:—Τῷ δὲ Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων<sup>2</sup> (quoted in Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* xxix. 72); and it is to be noted that Dionysius expressly declares he was using a form already traditional (παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβυτέρων τύπον καὶ κανόνα παρεληφότες<sup>3</sup>—*ib.*). (β) Julius Africanus finishes the fifth (and last) book of his *Chronicon* (written c. 225) with the following Doxology:—εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ παρασχομένῳ τοῖς ἰδίῳ ἡμῖν τὸν τῶν ὅλων Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὃς ἡ δόξα, μεγαλωσύνη σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> through Thy Child (puerum tuum, Acts iv. 27) Jesus Christ, through Whom be glory and honour to Thee, Father and Son with the Holy Ghost, in Thy holy Church both now and for ever and ever.

<sup>2</sup> And to God the Father and the Son our Lord Jesus Christ with the Holy Ghost be glory and might for ever and ever.

<sup>3</sup> having received the form and rule from the elders before us.



αἰῶνας<sup>1</sup> (quoted in Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* xxix. 73). (γ) Hippolytus (c. 230) concludes his treatise *Against the Heresy of Noetus* in this manner:—αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.<sup>2</sup> (δ) Our fourth Doxology is from Clement of Alexandria:—αἰνοῦντας εὐχάριστον αἶνον τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, Υἱῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι<sup>3</sup> (*Paedagogus* iii. 12<sup>101</sup>—written c. 200).

So much for the Doxology as it stands in the Latin translation of the *Egyptian Church Order*. In the Ethiopic version it is practically the same with one important exception; there is nothing to correspond to the words *Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu* of the Latin. If the Ethiopic really represents the original text, such a Doxology would not be an anachronism even in a first century Christian document. But there is one fact which makes us somewhat doubtful. There are a number of Doxologies in the Ethiopic version, and this is the only one which makes no mention of the Holy Ghost; possibly some words have been accidentally omitted. This uncertainty of text hinders us from coming to any definite conclusion. There are, however, as Dom Connolly has shown (*So-called Egyptian Church Order*, p. 154), two phrases, occurring in both the Latin and the

<sup>1</sup> We give thanks to the Father Who supplied to us His own (children) Jesus Christ the Saviour of the universe and our Lord, to Whom be glory (and) majesty with the Holy Ghost for ever.

<sup>2</sup> To Him be glory and might together with the Father and the Holy Ghost in the holy Church both now and always and for ever and ever.

<sup>3</sup> rendering thankful praise to the only Father and Son, Son and Father, Son Instructor and Teacher, with the Holy Ghost also.

Ethiopic, which point to an early date—per *puerum* tuum and in sancta ecclesia.

(27) The general result of this analysis seems to be that, while all three exhibit an early type of Eucharistic Prayer, C O is on the whole more primitive than either C J or S, these latter being on much the same level of development. This is only what was to be expected, as we now know the greater antiquity of C O.

(28) We will now confine our attention to Sarapion and Cyril. They are, as we have seen (§ 24), strictly contemporary. And, while both testify to the existence and necessity of an Epiclesis in the Eucharist, the evidence they give as to its form is contradictory. In Sarapion we have an Invocation of the Second Person of the Trinity, the *Word*; in Cyril an Invocation of the Third Person, the *Holy Ghost*. Which of the two forms is the earlier?

(29) From Sarapion we gain only one piece of information, but that a very important one. Sarapion's Consecratory Prayer was his own composition, as is shown by his name being attached to it, and was therefore not the traditional Liturgy of the Church at Thmuis. No doubt in many respects he followed the traditional lines; otherwise his people would hardly have accepted his ministrations. But we cannot assume without proof that he did not innovate at all. And, though the probability is against his having made any innovation in the form of the Epiclesis, there is a distinct possibility the other way. Indeed, Sarapion's intense devotion to the Godhead of our Lord, combined, it may be, with a somewhat hazy view of the personality and work of the

Holy Ghost, may easily have led him to compose an Invocation specially intended to emphasise the part taken in the Eucharist by the Second Person of the Trinity.

(30) We now turn to Cyril and see at once that, in striking contrast to Sarapion, the Liturgy he describes may have been traditional at Jerusalem. In fact he seems to imply that such was the case; for at the end of his Lectures he exhorts his hearers, κατέχετε ταύτας παραδόσεις ἀσπίλους<sup>1</sup> (*Cat. Myst.* v. 23). While this is true of the Liturgy as a whole, there is reason to believe it specially true of the Epiclesis. We may contrast the way in which Cyril speaks of it with the very different tone he adopts when he discusses the commemoration of the departed by name (*op. cit.* v. 10). In the latter case he is apologetic, he notices an objection and does not blame the objectors, he merely tries to convince them that their objection is groundless<sup>2</sup>—a fact which seems to show that the custom he is defending had been but recently introduced. With regard to the Epiclesis, on the other hand, he has not the least doubt; he can speak with authority, confident that he is only setting forth the recognised doctrine and that he will carry all his hearers with him. For him the Epiclesis is the form of consecration (ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς ἀλλὰ σῶμα

<sup>1</sup> Hold these traditions unspotted.

<sup>2</sup> The above is one of several hints in Cyril's *Catecheses* that, though intended for catechumens and the newly-baptised, they were attended by Christians of older standing likewise. This is confirmed by the evidence of the *Peregrinatio Silviae* (cc. 46-7) and must have acted as a check on the lecturer and hindered him from introducing any startling novelties.

Χριστοῦ<sup>1</sup>—*op. cit.* iii. 3—cf. i. 7, v. 7, v. 8, v. 19); the mention of the Holy Ghost is necessary (πάντως γὰρ οὐδ' ἐὰν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγιάσται καὶ μεταβέβληται<sup>2</sup>—*op. cit.* v. 7, cf. v. 19); all this is so much a matter of course that it can be used to explain and illustrate things not so obvious (*op. cit.* i. 7, iii. 3). This mass of evidence is all the stronger for being indirect; and the only conclusion we can draw from it is, that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was, in the year 348, a well-established custom of long standing at Jerusalem—we may say forty years as a *minimum*, and even this seems hardly long enough.

(31) Thus the result of our examination is, that Cyril's Epiclesis comes to us with marks of antiquity which are absent in the case of Sarapion's. And we are left with the impression that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost as described by Cyril is a formula of older date than the Invocation of the Word as found in Sarapion.

<sup>1</sup> For as the bread of the Eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer mere bread but the body of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> For assuredly whatever the Holy Ghost has laid hold of, that has been hallowed and changed.

## Chapter IV. Second and Third Century Evidence.

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(32) This conclusion, however, so far as it rests on negative evidence, is founded on an insecure basis. Before we can accept it with any confidence we must examine two things :—(A) the evidence given by Fathers who were contemporary, or nearly so, with Cyril and Sarapion ; (B) the evidence afforded by earlier writers—those of the third and second centuries. It will be convenient to take (B) first.

(33) We may divide the *testimonia* in which it is contained into two classes :—(a) passages which directly describe the form of the Invocation ; (b) passages whose bearing on our subject is matter of inference only.

Of course, the evidence of the former class, being free from doubt, is of much greater value in enabling us to come to a conclusion than that of the latter, which must at best carry with it some degree of uncertainty. There are, however, five passages belonging to the latter class, while the former unfortunately only contains two.

One of these is the Consecration-Prayer in the *Egyptian Church Order* (now known to be a third-century document) which possesses, as we have already seen (§ 7), a clear Invocation of the Holy Ghost. Further, if Dom

Connolly be right, as we believe he is, in looking on Hippolytus as the author, it would almost seem that the much-debated question as to whether the Roman Liturgy ever contained such an Invocation must be decided in the affirmative.

(34) The other is found in Origen's *Homilies on I Corinthians*. Strange to say, it is noticed neither by Dr. Srawley in his *Early History of the Liturgy* nor by Dr. Woolley in his *Liturgy of the Primitive Church* nor by Mr. E. Bishop in his *Moment of Consecration*. Origen's *Homilies on I Corinthians* as a whole are lost, but a considerable number of fragments are preserved in *Cramer's Catena* and have been re-published with amended text in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan.-Oct. 1908. One of them (on I Cor. vii. 5) runs thus:—Εἶτα ἵνα μὲν ἄρτους προθέσεως λάβῃ τις, καθαρὸς εἶναι ὀφείλει ἀπὸ γυναικός (the reference is to I Sam. xxi. 4)· ἵνα δὲ τοῖς μείζονας τῆς προθέσεως λάβῃ ἄρτους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐ πολλῶ πλέον ὀφείλει τις εἶναι καθαρώτερος, ἵνα ἀληθῶς εἰς σωτηρίαν λάβῃ τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ μὴ εἰς κρίμα<sup>1</sup>; Origen here calls the Eucharistic bread "loaves on which has been invoked "the name of God and of Christ and of the Holy "Ghost." That is to say, the Epiclesis he was acquainted with was an Invocation of the Trinity. At first sight it would seem that all three Persons of the Trinity must have been directly addressed in the Epiclesis

<sup>1</sup> Then, in order that any one may take the shewbread, he ought to be pure from woman (I Sam. xxi. 4); but, in order to take the bread which is greater than the shewbread, (the bread) on which has been invoked the name of God and of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, ought he not to be far purer, so that he may truly take it to salvation and not to judgment?



in question, and that it must have been of the same type as the one found in the *Testament of our Lord* (see § 7). This is possible; but is it probable? In face of what Origen says elsewhere we think not. If the Invocation he knew had been of this type, could he argue, as he does in the *De Oratione* (xv.)—a work written about the same time as the *Homilies on I Corinthians*<sup>1</sup>—against Christians praying directly to Christ, or indeed in any other way except to the Father through Christ? It does not seem at all likely.

(35) But, if this be so, how can Origen speak of the names of all three Divine Persons being invoked on the Eucharistic bread? We must remember that Invocation of the name of a Person does not necessarily imply prayer directly addressed to that Person. For instance, Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost (*Cat. Myst.* iii. 3—see § 30). But, when he proceeds to describe the details of that Invocation (*op. cit.* v. 7—see § 5), we find it a prayer addressed, not to the Holy Ghost, but to God the Father—a prayer indeed that God would send the Holy Ghost. We may then not unreasonably believe that Origen's Epiclesis was addressed to the Father only, while his description of it is justified by the fact that each of the other two Persons of the Trinity had a prominent place in it.

(36) We will now compare it with the Invocations in Sarapion and Cyril. Both of these are addressed to

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<sup>1</sup> According to Westcott (*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iv, p. 103) the *Homilies on I Corinthians* were written soon after Origen's removal to Caesarea in the year 231. Dr. Koetschau, in his edition of some of Origen's works (2 vols., Leipzig, 1899), places the composition of the *De Oratione* in the years 233-4 (vol. i, p. lxxvii).

God the Father ; in both the Son occupies a prominent position. So far, both are in accordance with Origen's description ; in both "the name of God and of Christ" is invoked over the Eucharistic elements. It is different, however, with regard to "the name of the Holy Ghost." That name is invoked, clearly enough, in Cyril's Epiclesis, but not in Sarapion's. Indeed, the only mention of the Holy Ghost in the latter formula is at the end, where the prayer closes in the stereotyped manner—σὲ γὰρ τὸν ἀγέννητον ἐπεκαλεσάμεθα (the aorist shows that the Epiclesis is already finished and the consecration apparently complete) διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,<sup>1</sup> the last six words forming part of the regular conclusion of most of Sarapion's prayers.

(37) If the above reasoning has any weight, the Epiclesis known to Origen cannot have resembled Sarapion's but may very well have been like Cyril's. Indeed, it is hard to see what other form it could have taken. The difficulty that Cyril describes his Epiclesis as an Invocation of the Holy Ghost, while according to Origen all the three Divine Persons were invoked, is more apparent than real. For, while Cyril in one place (*Cat. Myst.* iii. 3) speaks of an Invocation of the *Holy Ghost*, in another place he calls the same formula an Invocation of the *Trinity* (ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός· ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ<sup>2</sup>—*op. cit.* i. 7), just

<sup>1</sup> For we have invoked Thee, the Unbegotten One, through the Only-begotten, in the Holy Ghost.

<sup>2</sup> For as the bread and the wine of the Eucharist, before the holy invocation of the adorable Trinity, were mere bread and wine, but, when the Invocation has taken place, the bread becomes the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ.

as Origen does. It is hard to believe that Origen and Cyril were not both accustomed to the same type of Eucharistic Epiclesis.

We have so far found nothing to show that an Epiclesis of Sarapion's type—the Invocation of the Word—was in use before the fourth century. While we have seen that Cyril's type—the Invocation of the Holy Ghost—dates back, at the very latest, to the early years of the third century.

(33) We have now considered our two direct Ante-Nicene witnesses to the nature of the Eucharistic Epiclesis. There remain, as mentioned above (§ 33), five other passages, all undoubtedly referring to the Consecration, from which it is claimed that the Invocation may be determined with some show of probability. They are the following :—

(a) Origen, in his *Commentary on St. Matthew* (tom. xi, c. 14), thrice applies to Eucharistic consecration St. Paul's words in I Tim. 4<sup>5</sup>—ἀγιάζεται γὰρ διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Justin Martyr (*I Apol.*, c. 66) calls the Eucharist τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Irenaeus (*Contr. Haeres.* v. 2<sup>3</sup>) says that the Eucharistic elements προσλαμβάνόμενα τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐχαριστία γίνεται<sup>3</sup>; and again, a little earlier in the same passage, τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον καὶ ὁ γεγωνὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is hallowed through the word of God and prayer.

<sup>2</sup> the food which is consecrated through the word of prayer which (word) is from Him (see § 41 δ).

<sup>3</sup> receiving the word of God become the Eucharist.

<sup>4</sup> The mixed cup and the bread made (by man) receive the word of God and become the Eucharist (so the ancient Latin version—the ἡ of the Greek should apparently be omitted).

(d) Cyprian, *Ep.* 65 (64)<sup>1</sup>, tells us, nec oblatio sanctificari illic possit ubi sanctus Spiritus non sit.<sup>1</sup>

(e) The *Didascalia Apostolorum* says of the Eucharist, gratiarum actio (this being a literal translation of εὐχαριστία) per sanctum Spiritum sanctificatur<sup>2</sup> (Hauler, *Didasc. Apost. Frag.*, p. 80); and again (p. 81—the writer is here addressing a woman), audies similiter a Domino Deo Christo: Stulta et caeca, quid est maius: panis aut sanctus Spiritus, qui sanctificat panem?<sup>3</sup>

(39) The first three of these passages have been thought to point to an Invocation of the Word in the Eucharist (E. Bishop, *Moment of Consecration*, pp. 155-6). If the correctness of this inference be admitted, it must also be admitted, by parity of reasoning, that the latter two point to an Invocation of the Holy Ghost. For they speak of the Holy Ghost in connection with Eucharistic consecration in exactly the same way as the former three speak of the Word. In addition, they are free from an element of doubt which attaches to the others. The sanctus Spiritus they mention is undoubtedly the Third Person of the Trinity. But the λόγος, or the λόγος Θεοῦ, of the former by no means necessarily refers to the Divine Logos (cf. the quotation from Gregory of Nazianzus in § 47, where the first λόγος clearly signifies the prayer of consecration). That it does so in the passages before us is an assumption which requires proof, and, so far as we are aware, no attempt at proof has ever

<sup>1</sup> nor can the offering there be hallowed where the Holy Ghost is not.

<sup>2</sup> The thanksgiving (= Eucharist) is hallowed by the Holy Ghost.

<sup>3</sup> You will in like wise hear from Christ the Lord God, Foolish woman and blind; which is greater, bread or the Holy Ghost Who hallows the bread?

been made. We will therefore examine them and try to see what they really mean.

(40) (a) The words λόγος Θεοῦ in Origen often signify the Divine Logos. But this is by no means always the case, as the following three examples, taken from the 5th and 6th books of the *Contra Celsum*, will show :—  
 (i) εὐρήσεις γοῦν μάλιστα ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου μερφόμενοί, κ. τ. λ.<sup>1</sup> (v. 8), where by τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον he means such texts as Jer. vii. 18; (ii) ἦν γὰρ ὑπερμαχοῦσα αὐτῶν θεία χεὶρ καὶ βουλομένη τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν γωνίας ἐπισπεῖραι ὅλα τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων<sup>2</sup> (v. 50), where by τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον is signified the preaching of the gospel; (iii) ὁ δὲ πάντων τούτων κρείσσων Ἰησοῦς ὅτι μὲν ἐλάλει τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν<sup>3</sup> (vi. 6), where its meaning is much the same as in (ii). Thus Origen's use of the expression λόγος Θεοῦ does not *necessitate* our interpreting it of the Divine Logos in the passage before us. And there are four strong reasons which appear to exclude such an interpretation.

(a) Origen is here quoting I Tim. iv. 5, where, as he must have been well aware, there is no reference in the original to the Divine Logos. This, of course, is not conclusive proof that he did not use the words in a different sense from St. Paul but renders it somewhat unlikely; and it certainly throws the *onus probandi* on those who assert that he did so use them.

<sup>1</sup> You will certainly find in Jeremiah the word of God by the prophet blaming, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For there was a divine hand which fought for them and desired to sow the word of God from one corner of the Jewish land among the whole race of mankind.

<sup>3</sup> But Jesus who was superior to all these in that he was in the habit of speaking the word of God to the disciples privately.

(β) We cannot interpret Origen's λόγος Θεοῦ of the Divine Logos without making the sense of the passage suffer. It is excellent sense to say that the elements are hallowed "by the word of God and prayer," if by the "word of God" we mean some special formula or petition connected with the consecration. But to say that the elements are consecrated by "Christ and prayer" (which must be the meaning, if the Divine Logos is intended) would be a very extraordinary way of speaking.

(γ) The context of the passage seems to shut out the Logos-interpretation. Origen says (*l.c.*)—τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται (Matt. xv. 17). κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν (this is his explanation of the ἐντευξις), κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὡφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἴτιον διαβλέψεως ὀρώντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν. καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος (this is his explanation of the λόγος Θεοῦ) ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν.<sup>1</sup>

(δ) It is, we believe, a fixed canon in interpretation that what is doubtful must be explained by what is certain, and not *vice versa*. From Origen's own words it appears certain (see §§ 34–37) that the Epiclesis he knew was not one of the Sarapion-type, an Invocation of the Word. Hence, to interpret the passage before us as if it referred

<sup>1</sup> The food which has been hallowed through the word of God and prayer according to its material substance passes into the belly and is cast out into the draught (Matt. xv. 17); but in respect of the prayer which comes on it, according to the proportion of the faith, it becomes beneficial and a cause of clear perception of the mind looking to that which benefits. And it is not the substance of the bread but the word which has been said over it which benefits him who eats it not unworthily of the Lord.



to such an Invocation is to violate the above canon and make Origen contradict himself.

The combined force of the above reasons seems to justify us in coming to the conclusion that Origen bears no witness in favour of an Invocation of the Word.

(41) (b) We will now take the passage from Justin where he speaks of the Eucharist as τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθείσαν τροφήν.<sup>1</sup> Here all depends on the word αὐτοῦ. If any hint of an Invocation of the Logos is to be found here, it is absolutely necessary that αὐτοῦ should=Θεοῦ. But this is hardly likely for the following four reasons.

(a) Strictly speaking, αὐτοῦ ought to refer to the last-mentioned person. This, however, is not Θεός, but Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup>—a fact which decides the question if Justin be a careful writer.

(β) If Justin's composition be somewhat loose, the αὐτοῦ might refer to the principal subject of the sentence. But this, again, is Χριστός and not Θεός. Indeed, the whole chapter treats of *Christ* and of the Eucharist as appointed by him and celebrated by Christians. Θεός is only mentioned once, and that incidentally, where Christ is called the Λόγος Θεοῦ (διὰ Λόγου Θεοῦ).

(γ) The expression λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ (the word which is from *Christ*) seems expressly chosen to distinguish it from the Divine Logos (διὰ Λόγου Θεοῦ), the Word of *God*, spoken of just before.

(δ) We notice a parallel between δι' εὐχῆς λόγου here and words which occur in an earlier chapter (13) of the

<sup>1</sup> See 38 (b).

<sup>2</sup> Jesus Christ our Saviour.

*First Apology*, where Christians are described as *λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας . . . αἰνοῦντες*.<sup>1</sup> This parallel suggests the rendering—"the food which is consecrated "by the word of prayer, which" [word of prayer] "is "from Christ"—and not "the food which is consecrated "by the prayer of the word," etc.

Hence Justin, like Origen, apparently bears no witness in favour of an Invocation of the Logos. At any rate, his meaning is too doubtful to base any conclusion upon it.

(42) (c) The testimony of Irenaeus lends more support to Sarapion's Invocation of the Logos than anything we have met with so far. As we have seen (§ 38), twice, in the same chapter of the *Contra Haereses*, he speaks of the elements becoming the Eucharist by receiving τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. And by the λόγος Θεοῦ he usually means the Divine Logos. One thing, however, renders this inference doubtful. Irenaeus mentions Eucharistic consecration in three passages of his great work. In the one just quoted (v. 2<sup>3</sup>) he attributes it to the reception of τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ; in a second (iv. 18<sup>5</sup>—see § 20) to the reception of τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ; in a third (i. 13<sup>2</sup>—see § 20) to τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως. This last expression combines the other two and makes it difficult to resist the conclusion that in all three places Irenaeus is speaking of one and the same thing—the prayer or other formula of consecration. Thus, while Irenaeus' words may possibly point in the direction of an Invocation of the Logos, it is at least quite as likely that they do not.

(43) (d) Cyprian's words are quite clear and distinct. A certain bishop, Fortunatianus by name, who had lapsed

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<sup>1</sup> praising . . . by word of prayer and thanksgiving.

in a persecution, still continued to exercise his episcopal functions. Cyprian declares that the faithful in his diocese must be warned to separate from his ministrations on account of their invalidity—quando nec oblatio sanctificari illic possit ubi sanctus Spiritus non sit, nec cuiquam Dominus per eius orationes et preces prosit qui Dominum ipse uiolauit,<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 65 (64)<sup>4</sup>. There can be no doubt that by sanctus Spiritus Cyprian means the Third Person of the Trinity. And he would hardly have spoken as he does if he had been altogether unacquainted with the Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Eucharistic service.

(44) (e) Before speaking of the two extracts quoted above (in § 38) from the Latin translation of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, we must mention that our other witness, the Syriac version, differs from the Latin in both, and more particularly in the second (Achelis-Flemming, pp. 139, 140). But the Latin is probably right in both places, as being the better authority, and the context of the second, where a parallel is drawn with Matt. xxiii. 19, raises in this case the probability to a practical certainty.<sup>2</sup> The latest editor of the *Didascalia*, Professor Nau (*Didascalie des douze Apôtres*, 2nd ed., p. 214), has accordingly here adopted the reading of the Latin in his

<sup>1</sup> since neither can the offering there be hallowed where the Holy Ghost is not, nor does the Lord benefit any one by the prayers and petitions of him who has himself dishonoured the Lord.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin runs as follows :—*Stulta et caeca, quid est maius : panis aut sanctus Spiritus qui sanctificat panem ? Ergo si Spiritum sanctum possides, uana obseruas et uana custodis.* The eye of the translator, or of some copyist, of the Syriac version has passed on from the first mention of the 'Holy Ghost' to the second, so that a line has been accidentally omitted by what is called homoioteleuton. For this I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Brightman.

text.<sup>1</sup> Now let us look at the extracts themselves. They tell us quite clearly that the Holy Ghost is the divine agent of Eucharistic consecration (*per sanctum Spiritum sanctificatur—sanctus Spiritus qui sanctificat panem*).<sup>2</sup> We have already seen (§ 18 a) that the author of the *Didascalia* believed that Consecration was effected by means of an Invocation. And hence we may safely conclude that the Invocation he was acquainted with was an Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

(45) We have now concluded our survey of the Ante-Nicene witnesses. And their testimony confirms the impression made by our examination of Cyril and Sarapion—that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost is older than that of the Word. The latter can claim support from one witness only, and that a very doubtful one—Irenaeus. While we have three witnesses—Cyprian, the *Didascalia* and Origen—apparently bearing testimony to the former, and one, the *Egyptian Church Order*, supplying us with a clear instance of its use.

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<sup>1</sup> I owe the knowledge of this fact to Dom Connolly's review of Nau's book in *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1913.

<sup>2</sup> It is hallowed by the Holy Ghost—the Holy Ghost who hallows the bread.

## Chapter V. Fourth Century Evidence.

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(46) But, while we have failed to find in the Fathers of the second and third centuries (with the doubtful exception of Irenaeus) any knowledge of a Eucharistic Invocation of the Word, the fourth-century evidence in favour of it might conceivably be so wide-spread and strong as to force us to the conclusion that it must go back to a much earlier period. We must therefore examine this fourth-century evidence. Mr. E. Bishop (*Moment of Consecration*, pp. 155-6) cites as witnesses, besides Sarapion, three fourth-century Fathers, the two Gregories and Athanasius, and the late Bishop Wordsworth (*Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book*, pp. 46-7) adds a fourth—Jerome. We have already considered Sarapion's testimony (§ § 24-29).

(47) The evidence of Gregory of Nazianzus need not occupy us long. It consists of five words, ὅταν λόγῳ κατέλκῃς τὸν Λόγον<sup>1</sup> (*Ep.* 171—*al.* 240—to Amphilochius), in a passage which has obvious reference to the Eucharist. Here the word λόγος occurs twice, in the first case signifying the formula of consecration (cf. the quotation from Origen, § 40), in the second case the

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<sup>1</sup> when by word thou drawest down the Word.

Divine Logos. But why the reference should be to the Logos "drawn down" as *Consecrator* rather than as *content* of the Eucharist it is hard to say. The latter interpretation seems quite as likely as the former. Hence Gregory's witness is at best doubtful.

(48) We will now pass to Gregory of Nyssa. But, before we consider the passage cited by Mr. E. Bishop, we must look at two others which also refer to Eucharistic consecration.

(a) In Gregory's Homily *De Baptismo Christi* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* xlv. 581) he says:—ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν ἄρτος ἐστὶ τέως κοινός, ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται τε καὶ γίνεται· οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφόρως<sup>1</sup>—a clear testimony to the part taken by the Holy Ghost in consecration.

(β) Still clearer are the words of his *Funeral Oration* over his brother Basil (who died Jan. 1st 379), where he speaks of Basil in a somewhat inflated style as ὁ διδάσκαλος (the Teacher) and compares him to Elijah, John the Baptist and other Scripture worthies. He depicts Elijah on Mount Carmel drawing down fire from heaven, and he goes on to say:—ἡ δὲ ἱερωσύνη τοῦ διδασκάλου μιμεῖται τὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τοῦ προφήτου αἰνίγματα, διὰ τοῦ τρισεύειν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως, τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐφελκομένη· πῦρ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δύναμιν καλεῖσθαι

<sup>1</sup> Again, the bread is up to this time ordinary bread, but, when the mystery (sacrament) consecrates it, it is said to be and becomes the body of Christ; so the mystic (sacramental) oil, so the wine are (both) worth very little before the blessing, but after the hallowing (bestowed) by the Spirit each of them has a different (excellent) operation.



πολλαχῇ παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν<sup>1</sup> (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* xlv. 805). The important bearing of this on Basil's practice we will consider when we treat of Basil (§ 53). Meanwhile, it is quite clear that Gregory of Nyssa knew and approved of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

(49) (γ) We now come to Gregory's *Catechetical Oration*, which is believed to have been written later than 379, the date of the *Funeral Oration* (see Srawley's ed., p. xiv). In c. 37 of this work (the place cited by Mr. E. Bishop) Gregory treats of Eucharistic consecration. The whole passage is too long for insertion here, and we can only give its two salient points. (a) Καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομεν.<sup>2</sup> Following in the footsteps of Origen, Gregory makes use of I Tim. iv. 5 and applies its language to the Eucharist. And, as above (§ 40a), this is enough to make us pause before concluding that he uses the words in quite a different sense from St. Paul. Again, the change of expression from τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ to τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου seems designed to show that the former λόγος has a meaning different from the latter. (b) ὥσαύτως ὁ ἄρτος, καθὼς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἁγιάζεται διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, οὐ διὰ βρώσεως προιὼν εἰς τὸ σῶμα γενέσθαι τοῦ Λόγου, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου μεταποιούμενος, καθὼς εἴρηται.

<sup>1</sup> The priesthood of the Teacher imitates the riddles (mysterious acts) of the priesthood of the prophet (Elijah), drawing down the heavenly fire on the sacrifices through triplicating [the word τρισεύειν is used in the LXX. of iii. (i.) Kings xviii. 34] in the word of faith; for we have been many times taught by the Scripture that the power of the Holy Ghost is called fire.

<sup>2</sup> Thus now also we rightly believe that the bread which is hallowed through the word of God is changed into the body of God the Word.

ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου.<sup>1</sup> Here at first sight it might seem that διὰ τοῦ λόγου must refer to the Divine Logos, and it may be so ; but comparison with (a) and the *Funeral Oration* renders this doubtful. We may add that *l*, according to Dr. Srawley (*op. cit.*, p. xlix.) one of the two best MSS. of the *Catechetical Oration*, omits the διὰ. If its reading be accepted, the teaching of (b), so far as our subject is concerned, carries us no farther than that of (a).

Thus, while Gregory of Nyssa gives clear and unequivocal witness to the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, his testimony to the Invocation of the Word is uncertain.

(50) The third passage, cited by Mr. E. Bishop as from Athanasius, is as follows :—ἐλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τελείωσιν τῶν μυστηρίων· οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, ὅσον οὐπω εὐχαὶ καὶ ἱκεσίαι γεγόνασι, ψιλὰ εἰσιν· ἐπὰν δὲ αἱ μεγάλαι εὐχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἅγαι ἱκεσίαι ἀναπεμφθῶσι, καταβαίνει ὁ Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῦ σῶμα<sup>2</sup> (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* xxvi. 1325).

As we see, consecration is here attributed to the descent on the elements, not of the Holy Ghost, but of the Word—a fact which would seem to point to the probability of an Invocation of the Logos being in use at Alexandria. But the genuineness of the passage is by

<sup>1</sup> In like manner, as the Apostle says, the bread is hallowed through the word of God and prayer, not advancing to become the body of the Word through the act of eating, but changed immediately into the body through the word, as it has been said by the Word, This is My body.

<sup>2</sup> Let us come to the consummation of the mysteries (sacraments). This bread and this cup, while the prayers and supplications have not yet taken place, are mere (bread and wine). But, when the great prayers and the holy supplications have been sent up, the Word descends on the bread and the cup, and it becomes His body.

no means certain. It is the second of two quoted by Eutychius (Patriarch of Constantinople from 552 to 582) in his discourse *De Paschate et SS. Eucharistia* as from Athanasius ἐν τῷ εἰς τοὺς βαπτιζομένους λόγῳ, a sermon of which nothing else is known. Eutychius' discourse *De Paschate et SS. Eucharistia* as a whole is lost; but various portions are preserved, the one in question being found in the eleventh-century *Catena* of Nicetas on *St. Luke*. These facts show how many possibilities of error there are. It is quite common in patristic literature for sermons by an unknown or less-known preacher to be fathered on some eminent saint. The ὁ εἰς τοὺς βαπτιζομένους λόγος may be an example of this and may have been really composed by some other writer, possibly by Sarapion himself. On one point we should be glad of information. Does Athanasius in his undisputed writings ever call deacons Λευίτας, as is done in the first of the two passages in question?

But let us assume that the quotation is really from Athanasius. Origen, even when he is writing from Caesarea, is usually cited as a witness to the Church in Egypt (*e.g.*, by Dr. Srawley, *Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 50). And, while we may doubt the correctness of this with regard to his later works, it may well be true of his *Homilies on I Corinthians*, which were composed, if not at Alexandria, at any rate shortly after his removal thence in 231 (see § 34 note). If this be so, the Invocation of the Logos must have been adopted in that city instead of an earlier Invocation of the Trinity some time in the hundred years after Origen's departure. And its use, if such use ever existed at Alexandria, must have been given up by Athanasius before his death (see § 56).

(51) Lastly, there is Jerome. Jerome's works contain two references to the Eucharistic Epiclesis—one in his *Commentary on Zephaniah*, and a second in his translation of Theophilus' *Paschal Epistle* for 402 (*Ep.* 98). The latter teaches in the strongest manner the necessity of an Invocation of the *Holy Ghost*, and Jerome in *Ep.* 97 accepts its teachings with hearty approval (see § 55). The former is different:—*sacerdotes quoque qui dant baptismum et ad Eucharistiam Domini imprecantur adventum*<sup>1</sup> (on Zeph. iii. 4). At first sight, though the title *Verbum* is not used, this seems to point to an Invocation of Christ such as is found in Sarapion. But a difficulty at once arises. Jerome is addressing the clergy of his own day. Can any Church be named where in 392 (the date of the *Commentary on Zephaniah*) an Invocation of the *Logos* was in use? We have already seen that at Jerusalem (and Bethlehem, where Jerome was writing, was in the diocese of Jerusalem) and in Cappadocia it was then customary to invoke the *Holy Ghost*. The same custom, as we shall see later on, prevailed at Antioch, at Alexandria, at Milan and in Africa. There is no evidence or probability of an Invocation of the *Word* ever having been the usage at Rome. Surely, in this solemn appeal to the clergy, Jerome cannot have overlooked the customs of all these Churches and chosen instead to mention one which was then in use nobody knows where. Hence it seems probable that he is thinking of a prayer which certainly occurred in some Epicleses of his time—the prayer for the coming of Christ as the *content* of the Eucharist.

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<sup>1</sup> The priests also who administer baptism and at the Eucharist invoke the coming of the Lord.

(52) Thus, if we except the passage from Athanasius, the genuineness of which is not quite certain, the fourth century does not supply much satisfactory evidence in support of Sarapion's Invocation. And it must be noted that both Athanasius and Sarapion hail from Egypt.

(53) Turning now to the fourth-century evidence *in favour* of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, we find quite a different state of things. It is clear and unmistakeable, and it comes from some of the most important parts of the Christian world. We have already seen (§ 30) that an Invocation of this kind had been in use at Jerusalem for many years before 360—the date of the outbreak of the Pneumatomachian controversy. We have also seen (§ 48) that in Cappadocia Gregory of Nyssa was well acquainted with it and that his brother Basil was in the habit of using it.

Some four years before his death Basil wrote the *De Spiritu Sancto*, the occasion of which was a dispute about the wording of the Doxology. Should it run (i. 3) τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί . . . . μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, or διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,<sup>1</sup> or how? To decide this Basil appeals to both Scripture and tradition. In c. xxvii. (66) he instances a number of rites and ceremonies of the Church for which tradition was the only authority. Among others he mentions the Eucharistic Epiclesis (τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτοις ἀρκούμεθα ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον

<sup>1</sup> To God and the Father . . . with the Son together with the Holy Ghost *or* through the Son in the Holy Ghost.

ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες)<sup>1</sup> and apparently regards its wording as of apostolic origin—one of the things ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν.<sup>2</sup> Thus we have two facts to put together :—(α) Basil, in the year 374, declares that the wording of the Epiclesis he was wont to use (ἀρκούμεθα, προλέγομεν, ἐπιλέγομεν—all present tenses) was of great, probably apostolic, antiquity; and (β) Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother, states, five years later, that Basil was accustomed to pray at the Eucharist for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the elements. The conclusion seems inevitable, that in Cappadocia, as at Jerusalem, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was in use long before the critical year 360 and was thus far older than the Pneumatomachian controversy and entirely independent of it.

(54) We will next take Antioch where we have only one certain witness—Chrysostom. But his testimony is quite clear. The priest in the Eucharistic service invokes the Holy Ghost (ἔστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται, οὐχ ἵνα τις λαμπὰς ἄνωθεν ἀφθεῖσα καταναλώσῃ τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ χάρις ἐπιπесоῦσα τῇ θυσίᾳ δι' ἐκείνης τὰς ἀπάντων

<sup>1</sup> Which of the saints has left to us in writing the words of the invocation at the consecration of the bread of the Eucharist and of the cup of blessing? For we are not content with (saying) what the apostle (St. Paul) or the gospel has mentioned, but we also prefix and append other things which we consider to have great power with regard to the mystery (sacrament) and have received from unwritten tradition.

<sup>2</sup> delivered to us from the tradition of the apostles.



ἀνάψῃ ψυχάς, καὶ ἀργυρίου λαμπροτέρας ἀποδείξῃ πεπυρωμένου<sup>1</sup>  
—*De Sacerdotio* iii. 4<sup>170</sup>; ὅταν ἐστήκῃ πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὁ  
ἱερεὺς, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καλῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα  
τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἅψασθαι τῶν προκειμένων<sup>2</sup>—  
*In Coemet. Appel.* 3; ὅταν δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καλῇ  
καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν<sup>3</sup>—*De Sacerd.* vi. 4<sup>510</sup>);  
this is the form of consecration (ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν, *u. s.*);  
for it is the Holy Ghost, and not man, who gives the  
bread and wine their heavenly virtue (ὃ τοῦ Πνεύματος  
χάρις παροῦσα καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπιπταμένη τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην  
κατασκευάζει θυσίαν<sup>4</sup>—*De S. Pentecoste* i. 4; οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος  
διὰ τὸ ἐπιφοιτῶν αὐτῷ Πνεῦμα ἄρτος οὐράνιος γίνεται<sup>5</sup>—  
*Hom.* xlv. 2 *in Joann.*).

No one can read Chrysostom's words without seeing that he makes no attempt to prove the doctrine contained in them but regards it as a matter of course and has not the slightest suspicion that any of his hearers or readers could possibly think otherwise. As in the case of Cyril, all this implies that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was the established custom at Antioch when Chrysostom wrote and had been so for a considerable

<sup>1</sup> The priest stands, bringing down, not fire, but the Holy Ghost, and he makes lengthy supplication, not that some lamp set on fire from heaven should consume the elements (as in the case of Elijah's sacrifice), but that grace falling on the sacrifice should through it set on fire the souls of all and render them brighter than molten silver.

<sup>2</sup> When the priest stands before the table, stretching forth his hands to heaven, calling on the Holy Ghost to come and take hold of the elements.

<sup>3</sup> And when he calls on the Holy Ghost and completes the most dread sacrifice.

<sup>4</sup> The grace of the Spirit being present and hovering over all prepares that mystic (sacramental) sacrifice.

<sup>5</sup> This bread through the visitation of the Spirit becomes heavenly bread.

time. One of the above works, the *De Sacerdotio*, cannot be later than 390 and may be earlier. Hence it seems clear that the above Invocation must have been in use at Antioch shortly after 360, and highly probable that it was no new introduction even then.

(55) Theophilus was bishop of Alexandria from 385 to 412. It was customary for the bishop of Alexandria as Patriarch to compose and send each year to his suffragan bishops throughout Egypt a *Paschal (Festal) Epistle*, the ostensible purpose of which was to fix the proper dates for next Lent and next Easter. At the same time he very naturally made use of these Epistles to set forth his views on any point he thought important. In order that they might reach their farthest destination in time to fulfil their object, they must have been despatched some two months before the beginning of the Lent mentioned in them. Thus the *Paschal Epistle* for 402 (the one we shall quote from) must have been written some time in 401. Jerome, then at Bethlehem, translated it into Latin and sent his translation to two friends of his in Rome, Pammachius and Marcella. It appears as *Ep.* 98 among Jerome's *Epistles*, and, since the original has been lost, we shall quote from Jerome's translation. We may add that this translation must have been made not later than March or April 402, since *Ep.* 97, which Jerome sent together with it to his two friends, was composed in early spring (primo . . . uere—*Ep.* 97<sup>1</sup>) and speaks of Anastasius as still bishop of Rome (*Ep.* 97<sup>4</sup>) ; Anastasius died in April 402.

The main object of Theophilus' *Paschal Epistle* for 402 was a highly controversial one—to attack Origen and

prove him a heretic. Origen had many admirers, even among bishops. Under such circumstances it would have been a fatal mistake for Theophilus to have made some glaring error on a side-issue, and thus at once to have diverted attention from the main point and to have published his own incompetence. Besides, if he had made such an error, can we explain why Jerome, the most learned man of his age, who had spent some time at Alexandria sixteen years before and must have known the customs of the Church there, sent it to his friends with the error uncorrected and with enthusiastic expressions of admiration<sup>1</sup> (*Ep.* 97)? This greatly increases the difficulty of attributing any such error to Theophilus.

Let us now see what he says :—*Dicit (i.e., Origenes) enim Spiritum sanctum non operari ea quae inanimia sunt, nec ad irrationabilia pervenire. Quod adserens non recogitat aquas in baptisinate mysticas aduentu sancti Spiritus consecrari, panemque dominicum, quo Saluatoris corpus ostenditur et quem frangimus in sanctificationem nostri, et sacrum calicem, quae in mensa ecclesiae conlocantur et utique inanimia sunt, per*

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<sup>1</sup> This will be seen by the extracts following. Jerome begins thus :—*Rursum Orientalibus uos locupletio mercibus, et Alexandrinis opes primo Romani uere transmittit. Deus ab Austro ueniet, et Sanctus de monte Faran, umbra condensa. Unde et sponsa laetatur in Cantico Canticorum, dicens, In umbra eius concupiui et sedi, et fructus eius dulcis in faucibus meis. Uere nunc completur Esaiae uaticinium praedicantis, In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terrae Aegypti, ut, ubi abundauit peccatum, superabundaret gratia (Ep. 97<sup>1</sup>). Again, towards the end of the Epistle :—*Orate igitur Dominum ut quod in Graeco placet in Latino non displiceat, et quod totus Oriens miratur et praedicat laeto sinu Roma suscipiat, praedicationemque cathedrae Marci Euangelistae cathedra apostoli Petri sua praedicatione confirmet (Ep. 97<sup>4</sup>).**

inuocationem et aduentum sancti Spiritus sanctificari<sup>1</sup> (*Ep.* 98<sup>13</sup>). Theophilus here assumes, without the slightest misgiving, that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost is the necessary form of Eucharistic consecration, that no recipient of his Epistle was likely to dispute this, and that an Epiclesis of this type was no new introduction at Alexandria, but had been in use there some 180 years previously, when Origen wrote his *De Principiis*, the work in which the statement Theophilus is combatting is found (*De Princip.* i. 3<sup>5</sup>). Theophilus may have been mistaken on this last point. But, if Lightfoot is justified in employing the evidence of Irenaeus, written towards the close of the second century, as proof of the widespread existence of episcopacy during the early years of that century (*Apostolic Fathers*, part ii, vol. i, pp. 377-9), we are equally justified in concluding from Theophilus' words that, when he wrote, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost had been in use at Alexandria for something like fifty years.

(56) We are fortunately able to go back a generation and see that the Eucharistic Epiclesis still took the same form in Alexandria as when Theophilus wrote. Athanasius died in 373, and Peter, an elderly presbyter, who for many years had been Athanasius' faithful companion, was at once chosen bishop in his stead. But his accession was the signal for a brutal attack on the

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<sup>1</sup> For he (Origen) says that the Holy Ghost does not work on those things that are lifeless nor reach things not possessing reason. In asserting this he does not consider that the mystic (sacramental) waters in baptism are consecrated by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and that the bread of the Lord in which the Saviour's body is shown, and which we break for our sanctification, and the sacred cup, which are placed on the table of the Church and are certainly lifeless, are hallowed by the invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost.

Christians in Alexandria. A crowd of Pagans and Jews burst into the church of Theonas while Peter was officiating there and made it the scene of disgusting orgies. A description of what happened is given in a letter written by Peter shortly afterwards, a considerable part of which is preserved by Theodoret. Among other things we are told that a boy dressed in woman's clothes danced ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἔνθα κάθοδον τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπικαλούμεθα<sup>1</sup> (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 22<sup>7</sup>). The Invocation of the Holy Ghost was thus the established custom (ἐπικαλούμεθα, present tense) at Alexandria almost immediately after Athanasius' death; this it could not have been unless it had been used by Athanasius himself. Further, Peter assumes that those to whom he was writing, wherever they were (certainly not in Alexandria), were equally familiar with it; its use was not confined to that city. Again, why does Peter single out for mention only one of the rites performed at the altar—the Invocation of the Holy Ghost? Obviously, because he considered it the most sacred of them all. We naturally conclude that Peter, like Theophilus, believed it to be the form of consecration. And, if so, it cannot have been a recent introduction at Alexandria in 373; it must have been in use before the beginning of the Pneumatomachian controversy, which had been going on for only thirteen years when Peter wrote.

(57) From the East we now pass to the West. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, makes clear reference to the Invocation of the Holy Ghost in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*, written in 381. He says of the Holy Ghost (*De Spirit. Sanct.* iii. 16<sup>112</sup>):—*Quomodo igitur non omnia*

<sup>1</sup> on the very altar where we invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost.

habet quae Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus in baptisate nominatur, et in oblationibus invocatur, cum Patre et Filio a Seraphin in coelestibus praedicatur, cum Patre et Filio habitat in sanctis, infunditur justis, inspiratur prophetis?<sup>1</sup> Thus the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was in use at Milan in Ambrose's time. But his words convey much more than this, as we see by their position. They are preceded by mention of the Trinity-formula in baptism, which was universal in the Church, and they are followed by a number of universal attributes and operations of the Holy Ghost. Standing where they do, they can only imply that, when Ambrose wrote and so far as his knowledge extended, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was the universal custom of the Church, or so nearly universal that exceptions might safely be disregarded.

Dr. Srawley (*Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 163) objects that "Ambrose makes no express reference "to Milan in the passage." This is surely an extraordinary reason for doubting that Ambrose's words describe the use of Milan. The rule of common sense is, that the evidence of any Father is conclusive for the customs, at that particular period, of the Church to which he belongs, *unless he expressly states the contrary*. And Dr. Srawley accepts this rule. For instance, he treats Origen as a competent witness to the Egyptian Liturgy, though in none of the passages quoted on p. 50

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<sup>1</sup> How then does He not possess all things which are God's—He Who with the Father and the Son is by the priests named in baptism and invoked in the offerings—He Who with the Father and the Son is proclaimed by the Seraphim in heavenly places—He Who with the Father and the Son dwells in the saints, is poured out on the righteous, is inspired into the prophets?



does Origen "make express reference" to Egypt. Why then this inconsistency in the case of Ambrose?

A second objection raised by Dr. Srawley rests on the "consecratory force" which Ambrose elsewhere (apparently) ascribes to Christ's words of Institution as used at the Eucharist. This objection might have some weight, if Ambrose in the *De Spiritu Sancto* attributed consecration to the Invocation; this, however, he does not do, and so it falls to the ground. No doubt, both the recital of Institution and the Invocation occurred in the Milanese, as in other Liturgies.

(58) We have still to consider the evidence of the Church in Africa. Optatus, bishop of Milevis in Numidia, wrote his book *De Schismate Donatistarum* either about 375 or some ten years later. But the exact time of its composition does not matter, for we know the date of the occurrences he refers to in the following passage (*De Schism. Donat.* vi. 1):—*Quid enim tam sacrilegum quam altaria Dei, in quibus et uos* (he is addressing the Donatists) *aliquando obtulistis, frangere, radere, remouere, in quibus et uota populi et membra Christi portata sunt, quo Deus omnipotens inuocatus sit, quo postulatus descenderit Spiritus sanctus, unde a multis et pignus salutis aeternae et tutela fidei et spes resurrectionis accepta est?*<sup>1</sup> It was in the reign of the emperor Julian, which lasted less than two years (Nov. 361-June 363), that the Donatists received permission

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<sup>1</sup> For what can be so sacrilegious as to break, scrape, take away the altars of God on which at one time you offered, on which both the vows of the people and the members of Christ were borne, where God Almighty was invoked, where the Holy Ghost descended in answer to prayer; whence both the pledge of everlasting salvation and the safeguard of faith and the hope of the resurrection was received by many?

to return to their churches, and that the outrages which Optatus complains of were committed. He tells us plainly that the Holy Ghost had been customarily invoked at the altars which the Donatists then destroyed. He may intend to imply (this would increase the force of the *argumentum ad hominem* conveyed in the words, in quibus et uos aliquando obtulistis) that the Donatists themselves had used an Epiclesis of this kind, when they officiated at those altars at a still earlier date. This, however, is uncertain and does not specially matter. The important point is that in Optatus' belief the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was the established custom in Africa before the beginning of Julian's reign—that is, practically, before the outbreak of the Pneumatomachian controversy—and that he had no suspicion of its being a recent introduction even then. The testimony of Cyprian quoted above (§ 43) enables us to trace it, with great probability, still further back—to the middle of the third century.

Dr. Srawley treats Optatus' evidence in the same way as Ambrose's; he explains it away. He says (*Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 151), "it is *possible* that *in some parts* of North Africa an invocation of the Holy Spirit "in some form was found in the liturgy about the middle "of the fourth century" (the italics are ours). When we have the testimony of a trustworthy writer like Optatus as to what was done in his own country during his lifetime, we are not accustomed to call the facts "*possible*" but *certain*. Then, with regard to "*some parts*," Optatus' evidence is, that an Invocation of the Holy Ghost had been in use *wherever* the Donatist outrages had afterwards taken place. These latter, we believe, were not confined to any one part of North

Africa but were spread throughout the whole of it. And so, if we alter Dr. Srawley's words and say, "it is *certain that in North Africa, and probably in North Africa generally*, an invocation of the Holy Spirit in some form was found in the liturgy about the middle of the fourth century," we shall give Optatus' witness correctly.

## Chapter VI. Conclusion.

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(59) Before summing up the general results of this investigation, we must briefly notice an argument brought forward by Mr. E. Bishop which we will give in his own words. He is speaking about the history of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost in the latter half of the fourth century, and he says (*Moment of Consecration*, pp. 140-1):—"A  
" third point bears directly on the judgment to be formed  
" as to the presence in the Eucharistic Prayer of an  
" Invocation of the Holy Ghost for the consecration of  
" the bread and wine. One Father after another in the  
" course of the Pneumatomachian controversy enumerates  
" in detail and explains the sanctifying operations of the  
" Holy Ghost in the Church in proof and as evidence of  
" his co-equal Godhead. Whilst in these elaborate  
" reviews holy baptism and its formulae are adduced  
" again and again, no appeal is ever made to, not a  
" word is said about, any Invocation of the Holy Ghost  
" in the Eucharist, although the obvious opportunity  
" for such appeal occurs again and again. . . . How  
" is such silence to be explained?"

(60) There are several points to be noted with regard to this argument and the inference based on it.

(a) It is merely an *argumentum e silentio*. Only in exceptional circumstances, as, for instance, the absence of positive evidence, do *argumenta e silentio* possess any value. In the present case, the positive evidence is ample and indisputable.

(b) With regard to the correctness of the alleged fact. Of the six or seven Fathers who wrote on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost "in the course of the "Pneumatomachian controversy," one at least, Ambrose, as we have already seen (§ 57), does exactly what it is here asserted that none of them does: he adduces the Invocation of the Holy Ghost "in proof and as evidence "of his co-equal Godhead."

(c) It is assumed in the above argument that, because in their writings on the Holy Ghost the Fathers constantly cite the baptismal formula and the baptismal creed, they would equally have cited the Eucharistic Invocation, had they known it. Is this assumption justifiable? We think not. The baptismal formula runs—"in the name of the Father *and* of the Son *and* of "the Holy Ghost." The baptismal creed expresses belief in God the Father *and* in his Son Jesus Christ *and* in the Holy Ghost. In both cases the repeated "*and*" is eloquent with meaning. No wonder the Fathers appealed to these in proof of the co-equal Godhead of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity. In comparison, the Eucharistic Invocation, whatever form it took, had little value for their purpose.

(d) Even a cursory examination of patristic treatises on the Trinity will suffice to show that the majority of the arguments contained in them are based on Scripture. The wording of the baptismal formula rests on an express

command of Christ as recorded in Matt. xxviii. 19, whereas Scripture is silent as to the wording of the Eucharistic Invocation. Hence in the eyes of the Fathers the former possessed a much higher controversial value than the latter.

(e) Let us now look at the four Fathers to whom Mr. E. Bishop (*Moment of Consecration*, p. 141 note) specially appeals as illustrating his argument—Basil, the two Gregories and Didymus. As we have already seen, we have first-hand evidence that Basil was in the habit of using the Invocation of the Holy Ghost (§ 53) and that Gregory of Nyssa knew and approved of it (§ 48)—also that Didymus must have heard it every time he was present when his bishop (Peter of Alexandria) celebrated the Eucharist (§ 56). In face of these facts, the only deduction which can be drawn from non-mention of the Invocation in question in the controversial writings of the above Fathers is the general uselessness of *argumenta e silentio*.

(f) If the fourth-century patristic writings which are devoted to championing the Godhead of the *Third* Person of the Trinity ought to have appealed to the Invocation of the *Holy Ghost*, then, by parity of reasoning, we may conclude that the fourth-century patristic writings (far greater in number and bulk) which are devoted to championing the Godhead of the *Second* Person of the Trinity ought to have appealed to the Invocation of the *Word*. Has the most microscopic search ever discovered in them a single instance of such appeal? Surely, if *argumenta e silentio* are of any avail at all, this must be an absolute disproof of the existence in the fourth century of any Eucharistic Invocation of the Word.



(61) We can now proceed to sum up the evidence.

(a) With regard to the Invocation of the *Word*, the only *certain* testimony in its favour from any orthodox source is the Consecratory Prayer composed by Sarapion of Thmuis (see § § 6, 24-29). It is also probably referred to in the fragment ascribed to Athanasius (see § 50). Neither of these takes us beyond Egypt and the second quarter of the fourth century. Other alleged evidence of contemporary or earlier date—even that of Irenaeus—has proved on examination to be highly doubtful.

(62) (β) When we come to the Invocation of the *Holy Ghost*, all is different. An Epiclesis of this type was already in use at Alexandria (see § § 55, 56), and probably also at Antioch (see § 54) and at Milan (see § 57), by the middle of the fourth century. At Jerusalem it must go back to the first quarter of that century (see § 30). Nor can any later date be assigned to its introduction into Cappadocia, since in 374 Basil believed it to have come down from the apostles' times (see § 53). In Africa it can be traced back with certainty to the middle of the fourth century and probably to the middle of the third (see § 58). And in this latter century it was the custom of the Church to which the author of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* belonged, wherever that Church may have been (see § 44). Further, the description Origen gives of the Eucharistic Epiclesis (see § § 34-37) points in the same direction. And, in addition, we have (see § § 7, 33) in the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*, a work probably of Roman origin, the actual words of a third-century Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

(63) Such a *consensus* of witnesses proves that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was not a result of the Pneumatomachian controversy (which did not begin till 360) but is of far older date. And, if only we had more evidence on the subject of Eucharistic consecration, we should probably find it in wide-spread use during the third century.

In saying this we do not mean to assert that the *wording* of the Invocation in those early days resembled that given by Cyril of Jerusalem. It may well be that mention of the transforming power of the Holy Ghost was unknown till the fourth century, and that it previously ran somewhat as it does in the *Egyptian Church Order* (see § 7), or in the *Liturgy of St. Addai and St. Mari* (see § 7), or in the *Gallican*—at least so far as the petition *ut fiat nobis legitima Eucharistia*<sup>1</sup> is concerned (see § 5).

(64) Can we find any trace of an Invocation of the Holy Ghost earlier than the third century? Not with certainty. But there are two facts which make us suspect the possibility of its existence in the second century.

(a) We have every reason to believe that the work commonly called the *Egyptian Church Order* was composed by Hippolytus, and therefore not later than 235, and that he entitled it the *Apostolic Tradition*. By giving it such a title he seems to guarantee that the customs described in it (one of which is the Invocation of the Holy Ghost) were of no recent origin when he wrote, but had existed as far back as his memory reached—well into the second century.

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<sup>1</sup> that it may become to us a valid Eucharist.

(β) Justin, in his account of the great Eucharistic Thanksgiving-Prayer, describes it as addressed to the Father “through the name of the Son and of the Holy “Ghost” (διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου—I *Apol.*, c. 65). In so brief a description he would hardly have taken the trouble to mention this, if the only place where the names of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity occurred had been the short Doxology at the end. Hence we may reasonably suppose that each of the two Persons took a much more prominent position in the Prayer in question. As we have already seen (§ 10), Justin elsewhere tells us that two of the subjects specially dwelt on were the redemption of man and the passion of our Lord. This confirms our hypothesis with regard to “the name of the Son” and helps to render it probable with regard to “the name of the “Holy Ghost.” And no more likely place can be assigned for the latter than the Epiclesis, which we have every reason to believe (see § 20) already formed part of the great Thanksgiving-Prayer in Justin’s days, though he makes no express mention of it. If this be the case, its germ may be even of apostolic origin.

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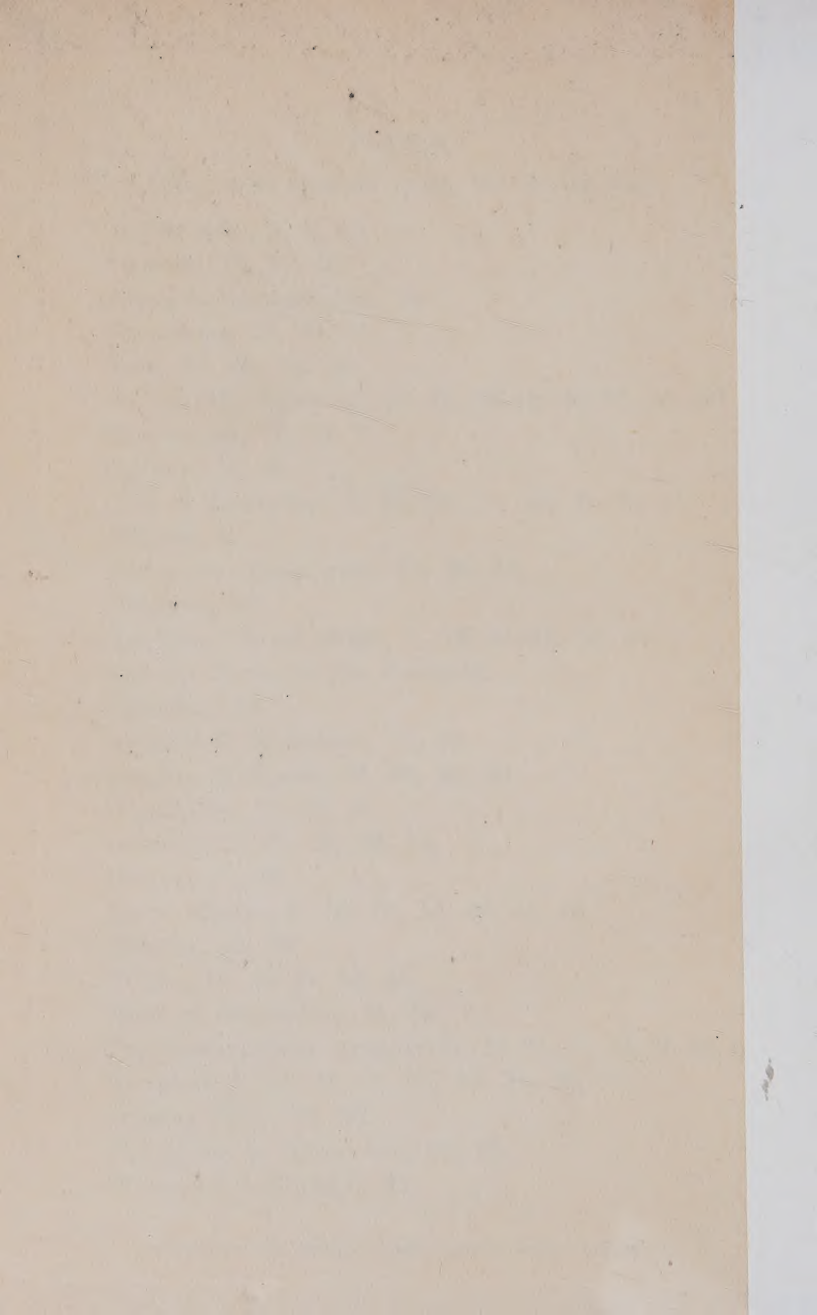
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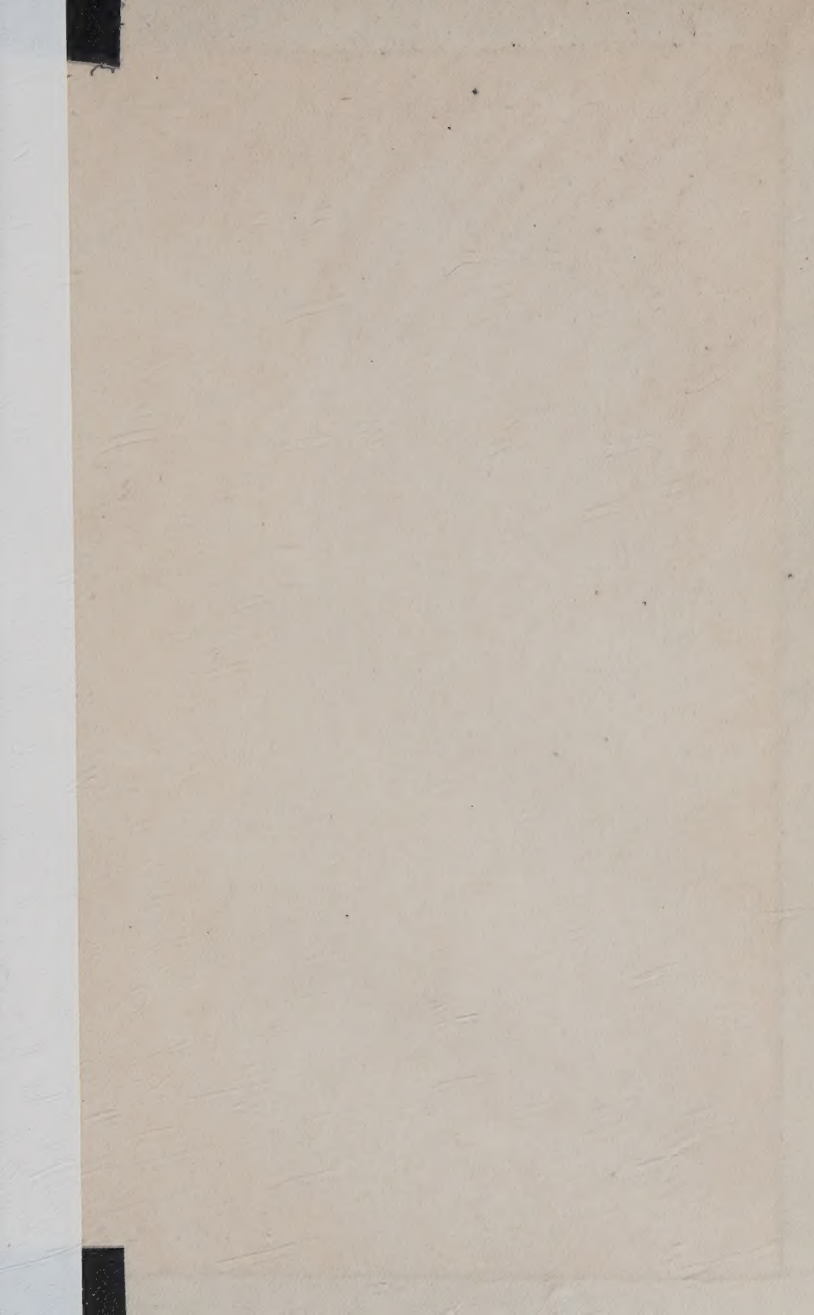
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